# HISTORIES

OF THE

Gunpowder-Treason

AND THE

# Massacreat Paris:

Together with a Discourse concerning the ORIGI-NAL of the POWDER-PLOT; proving it not to be the Contrivance of Cecill, as is affirmed by the PAPISTS, but that both the Jesuits and the Pope himself were privy to it.

As also a Relation of several Conspiracies against Queen ELIZABETH.

Printed for J. Leigh at the Sign of the Blew Bell near Chancery Lane end in Fleetstreet. 1676.

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## HISTORY

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# Bloody Massacres

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### PROTESTANTS

IN

## FRANCE

IN THE

Year of our LORD, 1572.

#### WRITTEN

In Latin by the Famous HISTORIAN J. AUG. THUANUS, and faithfully rendred into English.

#### LONDON;

Printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blew-Bell by Flying-horse-Court in Fleet-street, 1674.

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A Topic Notes No. 3

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# A brief Introduction to the History of the MASSACRE.

HE Lords of the House of Guise, whether through the instigation of the Fesuites, whom they first introduced into France, and highly favoured, or through their emulation \* against the Princes of the Blood \* V. Discourse, sed. 40. who favoured the Reformed Religion, or both, professing themselves great zealots for the Papal Authority, and irreconcilable enemies to the Hugonots, (as they called them of the Reformed Religion) especially after the dissentions grew high between them and the Princes, to whom they doubted not but the Protestants would adhere, as well upon the account of Religion as of the Right of the Princes, having \* \* V. Difc. by force gotten the young King Charles 9. into their hands, endeavoured by all means to raise in his mind as great prejudice and hatred against the Protestants and the chief men of their

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their party as possible. The young Ring thus trained up in prejudice against them, and moreover from his youth inured to cruelty, and the slaughters of his Subjects even in cold blood, whereof by the D. of Guife he had been early made a speciator, was scarce out of his miv. D'sc. sea. nority when he was ivited by the Pope, the K. of Spain, and the D. of Savoy to joyn in a boly League for the extirpation of the Hereticks: but being by nature of an Italian genius, and well instructed by his Mother in the policies of ber Country, be chose as a more safe and surer way to attempt that rather by fecret stratagems and furprize than by open bostility. And therefore at an enterview at Bayonne between bim with his Mother, and his Sifter the Queen of Spain accompanied with the D. of Alva, having by the way had secret conference at Avignon with some of the Pope's trusty Ministers (the Pope baving perswaded that meeting, and earnestly pressed the King of Spain himself to be present at it) it was concluded to cut off the chief heads of the Protestants, and then, in imitation of the Sicilian Vefpers, to flaughter all the rest to the last man. But the design

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fign being discovered to the Prince of Conde, Colinius and others of the Nobility, when they perceived fuch preparations made for the execution of it, as, unless timely prevented, they were likely suddenly to be all destroyed, they v. Disc. sea. put themselves into a posture of desence, where-43. upon broke out a Civil War. But that being contrary to the design to effect the business by Stratagem and surprize, it was in few months composed for the present; but shortly after, when the same design was again perceived to be carried on, and the like inevitable danger approached as neer as before, was again renewed in the former manner, and continued somewhat longer and hotter than before. Whereupon the King perceiving that the greatest dif- 45. ficulty was to beget and confirm in the Protefant Nobility a trust and considence in himself, used all arts imaginable to do that; and to that purpose in all solemn manner granting and confirming to the Protestants in France very fair terms of peace and security, be at the same time pretended a resolution to make a war with Spain, entred into a League with the Queen of England, and with the Protestant Prin-

### The Introduction.

Princes of Germany; and, which was the principal part of the policy, proposed a match between the Prince of Navar, the first Prince of the Blood, and chief of the Protestant Party, and his Sister Margaret, as that which would not only serve his purpose to beget a considence in the Protestants of his sincerity and good intention, but moreover assured him a fair opportunity at the solemnization of the Marriage, of effecting his design at last, which had been so often and so long disappointed. All which having managed with wonderful art and dissumulation, he at last obtained what he desired, as in the following History is more particularly related.

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Protestants at PARIS, and many other places in FRANCE, in the Year of our Lord, 1572.

HE day of the Nuptials [between Henr. King Lib. 51.

of Navar and Margaret Sifter to the King of
France] drawing on; which was appointed the

\*15th. of the Kalends of September; the \* August 18th.

King by Letters solicits Coligni, that he should
come to Paris, having before given in charge to Claudius Marcellus Provost of the Merchants, that he should see to it,
that no disturbance did arise upon Colignie's coming to Pa-

July 5th

ris. Likewise Proclamation was published the third of the Nones of July, when he was at Castrum Bononia, about two miles from the City, wherein it was forbidden, that any of what condition soever should dare to renew the memory of things past, give occasion of new quarrels, carry pistols, fight duels, draw their fwords, especially in the King's retinue at Paris, and in the Suburbs, upon pain of death. But it any difference should arise among the Nobles concerning their Honour or Reputation, they should be bound to bring their plaint to the Duke of Anjou, the King's Deputy throughout the whole Kingdom, and to pray justice of him: if they were of the Commons, they should betake themselves to the High Chancellor de l'Hospitals if it shall happen among those that shall not be in the Court, but in Paris, they shall go before the ordinary Magistrate. It was also provided by the same Proclamation, that those who were not of the Courts of any of the Princes or Nobles, or of the Retinue of others, or were not detained upon some necessary business, but were of uncertain abode and habitation about Paris of the Suburbs, thould depart from the Court & City within 24 hours after the publication of this Edict, upon the same pain of death. This was published for three days together, with the found of Trumpet in the Court, and through the City, and it was ordered that the publication thoused be repraied week by week upon the Sabbath-day. Also there was adjoyned to the guards of the King's body for his greater lechrily a guard of 400 choice Souldiers; all which Coligni fult of confidence and good affurance fo interpreted, as if the King defirous of the publick Peace, did (only) prepare a contrary strength against those which were fedicious, and movers of troubles. Therefore he comes into the City, though many were greatly diffurbed at it : to whom, when they importunately dehorted him both by letter and word of mouth, he, after he had given them thanks, answered in one word; "That he was resolved now that Peace was concluded, and things past forgotten, " to rely apon the faith of the King, and that he had rather be dragged through the Arcets of Paris, than to take up " Civil Arms again. 2. Among

2. Among other letters there was one brought to bim being now come to Paris, written very fmartly after this manner. Remember that it is an established Decree of the Papists, upon the account of Religion, and confirmed by the authority of Councils, that Faith is not to be kept with hereticks; in the number of which Protestants are accounted. Remember also that Protestants upon the account of the former Wars, do lie under an eternal odium; so that it is not to be doubted but this is the Queens resolution, that Protestants be rooted out by any means whatfoever. Add to this that it cannot be, but that a woman that is a stranger, and an Italian, descended of the race of the Popes, (whom they oppole) and of a Florentine and guileful nature, should study all extremities against her enemies. Consider moreover in what School the King was educated, in which he drew in with his milk under his good Tutors this Doctrine; that he should make it a sport to swear and forswear, to use the name of God profanely, to defile himself with Whoredomes and Adulteries, to diffemble his Faith, Religion, Counsels, to set his countenance (according to occasion). And that he might be accustomed to the effusion of the bloud of his Subjects, he was taught from his childhood to behold the flaughters and butcheries of \* beafts: that he is \* And of men setled in this perswasion to suffer no Religion in his King- also, v. l. 24. dom but that which may uphold his state, (according to the P. 275. opinion of his Master Machiavel) otherwise it would never be at Peace, so long as two Religions flourished in it, and that it was instilled into his ears that the Protestants did decree to spoil him of his Life and Empire. And therefore he would never suffer the Protestants who had once, whether upon a just or unjust cause, taken up Arms against him, to enjoy the benefit of his Edict, but that he would with Arms revenge what was done with Arms against him; nor would he look upon himself obliged to keep his Covenants which he had entred into with his armed Subjects. These are the Arts of Princes, the Elements of Policy, the Arcana Imperii. So Commodus of old commanded Julian, whom he owned and embraced as his Father, to be flain. Thus Aa 2

Antonius Caracalla, under pretence of muffering, flew the sprime youth of the City. So Lylander cut the throats of eight hundred Milesians called together under pretence of friendship and fociety. So Sergius Galba raged upon fix thou-' fand Spaniards: and lately by the command of Antonius Spinola, the chief men of the Isle of Corfica were called together to a Feast, and slain. In our memory did Christiern a King of a barbarous nature use the same arts in the Massacre of Stockholm. So heretofore Charles 7, though reconciled to the Duke of Burgundy, yet abstained not from kil-'ling him, though he begged for his life. Nor are the discourfes that the King lately had with his mother at Blois unknown. For when in a jocular manner profanely using as his custom is, the name of God, he asked her whether he had not acted his part handsomely at the coming of the Queen of Navar? the Queen answered that he had begun well, but these beginnings would little advantage him unless he proceeded; But I, faid he, with often repeated oaths, will bring them all into your toils. From these words, the truth whereof you may be affered of, you ought to take counfel, and if you are wife get out of the City, and fo from the Court, as from a most filthy fink, with all the speed as may

3. Colignitaring read this letter, though he was not a little troubled at it, yet that he might not feem altogether to neglect the admonitions and intreaties of his friends, made answer; That there was no place left for these suspicions, that he could never perswade himself that so great persidiousness could enter into so good a King, than whom France for this many years never had a better. That Anjou indeed was more averse to the Protestant party, but that harred would now cease, even out of respect to the affinity contracted with the King of Navar. For the rest, the League entred into with England, and that which the King was now making with the Protestant Princes of the Empire, did sufficiently shew how he stood affected to the Protestants, when as he would have one of the Sons of the Elector Patients in his retinue; and some one of the English Nobles,

as Leicester or Burgleii, who were most forward for Religion. Moreover he had given his Faith to the Prince of Orange and Nassau his Brother concerning aids against the Spaniards, and that a great supply was preparing in the place of those who were routed under Jenlis their leader. That John Galeacius Fulgofius, who lately returned from Florence, did affure them, that Colunus would lend the King two hundred thousand Aurei towards that War. That the King's Ambassador did carefully pry into the counsels of the Duke of Alva, and daily acquaint the King with them. That this he knew every day from the King. That the Navy that Philip Stroffy and Polinius Garda do command at Broage, and upon the Coafts of Poictou was not prepared to any other use but to disturb the Spanish Fleet, which being done, it shall go to help the Prince of Orange at Flushing. As for himself and his own particular safety. all might be secure of that; for that he through the King's means is reconciled to the Guiles, each engaging their Faith to the King, that they would neither of them hereafter impeach one the other. Laftly, that the King did all he could to make Peace at home and War abroad, and that he might transfer the War into the Low-Countreys, and against the Spaniards. Wherefore he prayed the Author of the writing and others that are of his mind, that they would no more with their fulpitions trouble his mind, which was taken up with more weighty bulineffes, and better defigns, but rather that they would, joyning their prayers with his. beg of God that he would prosper things so well begun. and bring them at last to an happy end, for the good of the

Charch and Kingdom. aw and to laite as and de awa. The Jame things were writtente Coligni from the Rochellers, which he did in as friendly manner take off with all moderation and constancy. Therefore when they could not divert him from that mind, they fet upon the King of Navar with Letters dated 6 of the Eids of July, in which they de July 10 th. bors him upon the fame accounts, that he should take care of himself, and not go to Paris. He was then at the Nuptials + Vid. 1. 50. t of Henricus Gondæus his Unckle's Son, and Mary of Cleve p. 787.

\* Vid. l. 35. p. 559. his near Kinfwoman, which were celebrated at Blandia a Cafile of Jo. Roan Marchionels of Rotelin, who was Mother to Frances of Aurleans \* last Wife to Lewis of Conde, within the jurisdiction of Melun. Therefore he despising the warnings of his Friends, the Nuprials of the Prince of Conde being finished, comes to Paris with him, and a great retione of Procestants in the beginning of August, where new delays are purpolely invented by the Queen; for whereas at first there was hope given of favour to be obtained from the Pope by the Cardinal of Lorain, who was then at Rome, to remove the obstacle of proximity and difference in Religion, Breve was brought to Charles Cardinal of Burbon, deligned es finish the business; wherewith not with standing he laid he he was not latisfied! therefore he delired another more full might be sent from Rome, wherein it might be more amply provided for him. Therefore the King laid the fault of the delay upon the Cardinal of Burbon, who he faid, by way of forn, was tied up by superfistion, and I know not what feruples of conscience; and by that means great injury was done to his Margarite ( fo he called his Sifter) who bore it very impatiently to have the fruit of her to long expected joy deferred.

5. When in the mean time Coligni preffed that the publick proclaiming of the Low Countrey War to often deliberated about, and approved of, and now whether he would of not begun, might be no longer deferred, he again made delays, and declined it, and often replied to him, importuning him, that he had not any Counfellor or Officer of his Army to whole faithfulnels, industry and diligence he could commit so great an affair. For some were wholly addicted to the party of the Guiles; others had other faults of their own: of his Secretaries there was only Bernardus Fizz whom he could entrust with this secret. At last it was agreed that the affair should be committed to Momorancy and Fizz; with which shews of unfeigned familiarity, as he took it, and ingenuous freedom, Coligni being deceived, would not perfwade himself any thing otherwise than of truly Kingly virtue, or think hardly of the most excellent King.

6. Amidft

6. Amidst these delays (those,) things, as it should seem, being altogether composed, about which before there was a difference among the Conspirators, there came Letters by secret comport from the King's Ambassador with the Pope, in which the King is certified of a dispensation now granted, and shortly to be sent from Rome by Post, wherein the scrupulous conscience of Burbon was fully satisfied: therefore when, upon the 16th of the Kalends of September, they August 17th.

were contraded by Cardinal Borbon in the Louvre, the next

day after the Nutrials were celebrated.

An high Scaffold is erected before the gates of the great Church, by which they descended by stairs unto a lower Scaffold, which being on every fide railed in to keep off the multitude, did lead through the Church to the inner apartment commonly called the Chore, From thence another Scaffold encompassed with rails did receive those that went out of the Chore toward the left gate, which reached to the Bishop's Palace; thither came out of the Louvre with all Royal Pomp, and most magnificent shew, the King, the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren the Dukes of Anjou and Alanson, the Guiles, the Colonels of the Horle, the chief Peers of the Kingdom leading along the Bride, who lodged that night in the Bishop's Palace. And from the other part, the King of Nawar, with the Princes of, Gonde and Contic his Coufins, Coligni Admiral of the Sea; Franciscus Count de la Roche foucault, and a great company of the Protestant Nobles, who came together out of all Provinces of the Kingdom

When the King had ascended to that higher Scaffold, the Ceremonies in manner as was agreed being performed by Cardinal Borbon, the King and Navar with his Party came by the lower Scaffold into the Chore, where having placed his Wise before the great Altar to hear Mass, he with Coligoi and Count de la Roche-sou eault, and the other Nobles of his Retinue went into the Bishop's Palace by the contrary door afore mentioned; from whence after Mass was ended, being recalled by D'Apvil, he came into the Chore again, and kissing his new Bride before the King, Queen, and the Brethren, when they had entertained one another some little while with

discourse,

discourse, they returned into the Bishop's Palace, where dinner was provided. And I well remember when as Mass being ended, I was admitted through the rails into the Chore, and standing nigh to Coligni, while I fixed my eyes upon him, and curiously observed him, I heard him say, discoursing with d'Anville, and looking up to the Ensigns fastned up and down, and the sad Monuments of the Battel of Bassac and Moncountour, "That ere long these being taken down, others "more pleasing should be set up in their places: which words, then he meant of the Low-Country War, which as he thought was now resolved upon, others interpreted as though he had thoughts of a new Civil War, which he so much abhoried.

7. After Dinner they went into the Palace, where a royal Supper was prepared, and all orders of the City and the Senate, together with with the Courts of Accounts, Customs and Treasury are entertained according as is usual in a most fumptuous manner: a short time was spent in dancing; afterwards interluder were brought in. The representation of three Rocks filvered over, upon which the three Brethien, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and Duke of Alanfon did fit, and seven more, upon which Gods and Sea-monsters were fet, which followed, being drawn along in Coaches, and were brought through the great Hall of the Palace, which was divided by a triumphal arch in the middle, and when they made a stand, some choice Musitians recited Verses in their own Tongue, composed by the best of their Poets. And thus a great part of the night being spent in interludes, they afterwards betook themselves to their reft.

The next day being not able to rife before the Sun was got high, at three a clock after-noon they went to dinner at the Duke of Anjou's Palace, where after dancing they went to-

ward the evening to the Louvre.

The day following being Wednesday, running at Tilt, and interludes which had been a long while in preparing, were exhibited at the Cardinal Bourbon's Palace: there were represented upon the right hand the Mansions of the blessed, and a little below the Elysian-fields possessed by 12 Nymphs, on the

the other fide on the left-hand was represented Hell flaming with fire and brimstone, and full of sprights and frightful ghoss. The Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Alanson defended Paradise as they called it: which many Knights Errant feeking to break into, of whom Navar was Captain; they were every one of them repulsed. and at last thrown headlong down into Hell. Then Mercury riding upon a Cock, and together with him Cupid came fliding down to the defendants, and then after much discourse with them returned into Heaven. Then the three defendants came to the Nymphs wandring in the pleasant green fields, and led them into the middle of the Hall, where the Spectators were with much pleasure entertained with new Dances about the Fountain for a full hour. Then the defendants being prevailed upon by their entreaties, the Knights Errant that were shut up in Hell were released; who presently in a confused skirmish break their spears: at last the Gunpowder that was laid by pipes about the Fountain being fired, fire broak forth with a great noise, and consumed all their Scenes, and so all departed.

This shew was variously interpreted, for that the assailants who were most of them Protestants, did in vain attempt to get into the feats of the bleffed, and were afterwards thrust down into Hell; for so they put a mockery upon the Protestants, and others did bode that it portended some mischief. However, certain it is, that Francis E. of Momorancy, whether suspecting some evil, or being indisposed by reason of the toffing of the Sea, as lately returned from his Ambassy in England, having obtained leave of the King, went to Chantilly for his healths fake; leaving in the Court Henry d'Anville, Carolus Meruvius, and Gulielmus Thoraus (his) Brethren. and that very happily for that most Illustrious Family: for it V. Da. p. 3702 was the general opinion, that the plotters of the following Massacre would have comprehended them all in this conspiracy, had they not feared that Momorancy, who was now ab-

fent, would have revenged it.

The next day being Thursday, there was running at Tiles held in the Court-yard of the Louvre, in which on the one fide

side the King and his Brethren, together with the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Aumale in the habit of Amazons; and on the other side the King of Navar, with his party in Turkish habits, contended with their launces; Scaffolds being set up on either side, from which the Queen-Mother, the King's Wise, Lorain, and all the Court-Ladies beheld the

sports.

8. Two days before the Counfel concerning the Massacre being not yet concluded, the King with great shew of kindnels bespeaks Coligni (thus). 'You know, Father, (so he cal-'led him upon the account of his age and honour) what you ' undertook to me, that you would offer no injury, fo long as you are at Court, to the Guifes: and they again engaged. that they, as they ought, would behave themselves toward you and yours honourably and modestly. I repose very great trust in your words, but I have not the like confidence 'in their promises.' For, besides that I know the Guises do by all means feek revenge, I know their daring and haughty nature, and in what favour they are with the people of Paris. It would be a very great grief to me, if they who under pretence of coming to the Marriage, have brought with them a great party of fouldiers well appointed, should attempt any thing to your hurt; for that would be an injury to my felf: Therefore, if you think it expedient, I think it convenient, that the Regiment of the Guards be drawn into the 'City under these Commanders, (then he named those who were no way suspected), who, if any turbulent persons attempt any thing, may be ready at hand to secure the publick Peace.

To such friendly discourse Coligni easily yielded his affent out of a desire of domestick Peace, and being already overcome by the Court-statteries: therefore a Regiment is drawn within the walls, without any suspition of the Protestants.

\* Lib. 51. He go. This being done, they enter into Counfel \* again, and after mentions a former Conformer Conformer

varying according to the condition of places, and of the persons admitted to the Council. For thus it was discoursed before the King, with whom were in Council the

Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, and others.

There are two factions in the Kingdom; one of the Momorancies, to whom the Colignies were formerly added, but onow upon the account of Religion, by which they have enegaged many (to them), they constitute a new faction. The other is of the Guises: nor will France ever be quiet, or that Majesty that is taken from Kings by the Civil Wars thence arising, ever be restored till the chief of their · Heads who disturb the most flourishing Empire, and the pub-'lick Peace, be stricken off. They, by the troubles of the Kingdom, have grown to so great Power, that they cannot be taken away at the same time: they are severally to be taken off, and ser one against the other, that they may destroy one another. Coligni must be begun with who only survives of his Family, who being taken out of the way, it would much weaken the Momorancies, who lie under so great an odium upon the account of their joyning with \* Coligni. But this is an unworthy thing, and not to be suffered by you, (said they, directing their discourse to the King), that a man whom only Nobility commends, one that is advanced to honour by the favour of Kings, now grown burdensom to the Nobility, equal to Princes in honour, egrievous to your felf, should come to that height of madness and boldness, that he should count it a sport to mock at Royal Majesty, and every day at his own lust to raise Wars in the Kingdom. Certainly his madness is above all things by you, if you be indeed King, to be reftrained, that by his example all may learn to bear their fortunes decently, and Nor only shall the faction of the Mouse them modestly. morances be broken by his death, but the power of the Protestants shall be over-turned: of which, when he is the very heart and foul, in him alone the Protestants seem to 'live, and he being dead, they will fall with him. This is not only useful, but necessary for setling the publick Peace, when as experience doth shew, that as one house can-

370 The opinion of Alberto Gondi

not keep two Dogs, nor one tree relieve two Parrots, fo one and the same Kingdom cannot bear two Religions. may be done without danger or blame, if some cut-throat, as there are enough of them to be had, be suborned to take 'away the life of Coligni, encouraged by some present reward, and hopes of future; who having done the thing, may make his escape by the help of a light horse prepared V. Dav. p 368, for that purpose. For then, without doubt, the Protestants, 'who are very numerous in the City, supposing it to be done by the Guifes, will presently, as you know they are a furious Coun of Retz. 'fort of people, take up Arms, and fetting upon the Guifians. they shall easily be cut off by their greater numbers; (for the people of Paris are much addiced to them), and perhaps the Momorances so hateful to the Parisians, shall be involved in the same tumult. But if the thing proceed not 'fo far, yet at least the blame of the fact, from which you 'shall receive great advantage, shall be translated from you upon the Guisians, (as bearing yet in memory the murder of their Father) whom, having destroyed their Rivals, you fhall foon reduce into good order. This thing being done. you shall forthwith be able to determine concerning the chief leaders of the Protestants, whom you have in your power, who, no doubt, will return to their old Religion, and due allegiance to you when evil Counsellors shall be removed.

And when it was debated in the Queens Council among those that were to be trusted, their discourse went further, that not only the Momorances with Coligni should be taken off. but that the Guisians should at some fit opportunity be flain. as those whom the Queen ought in no wife to trust or spare. being heretofore grievously and often offended by her. For fo the Counsellors ordered the matter, if the Protestants should go about to revenge the death of Coligni, they and the Momorances should in the conflict be oppresfed by the people, as being inferior in strength, but not without great loss to the adversaries; whom the King having drawn a great number of Souldiers, which he had then at his command, into the Louvre, fitting as a spectator, might at

laft fet upon, being broken, and weakened by fighting, and as though they had taken Arms without his command, and by way of fedition, might command them all to be flain together with the Nobles, as taking this or that party: for whiles they remained fafe, there would be no end of murmurs and complaints against the Queen; whom the seditious cry out upon as a stranger, and so fit to be removed from the Government

of the Kingdom.

10. These were their divers counsels according to the diversity of the persons, but they all agreed in the executing of the matter. The Duke of Guise being at last taken into the privity of the fact, though otherwise he knew nothing of the other Counsels, an Assaine was sought for, and presently Morevell appears, being as it seemed provided for that purpose; who having formerly undertaken to do such a villany, he fled into the Camp of the Protestants, but being affrighted by the danger of it, left he should feem to have done nothing, he treacherously slew Arthurus Valdræus Moius, and from Monsieur de that time often changing his lodgings, he concealed himself Muy at the in the house of the Guises, in which Family he was brought siege of Niort. up from a child. An house was also pitched upon in the Dav. p. 376. Cloyster of St. German Auxerrois, as they call it, the house of Peter Pila Villemur, who had formerly been Tutor to the Duke of Guise himself; by which Coligni returning home, must needs pals.

Therefore upon the Friday, Coligni having dispatched much business in the King's Council, where Anjou was present, and composed a difference between Antonius, Marafinus, Guerchius and Tiangius, chief of the Nobility of the Burgundians, forward men; he attended upon the King to the next Tennis-Court, from whence, after a promise from the King, the Duke of Guise and Teligny, betaking himself homeward, walking on foot by the house of Villemur, going gently along, and reading a Petition which was then by chance presented to him, Morevel discharging a Musquet from a window that had a linen Curtain drawn before it, he was that with a brace of bullets, whereof one fruck off the forefinger of his right hand, and the other wounded him more dan-

dangerously in his left-arm, while Guerchius was upon his right-hand, and Rochus, Sorbæus, Prunæus upon his left, w ho as likewise all that were there, were exceedingly assonished at what was done.

But he with a countenance not disturbed, only shewed them the house whence the bullets came, and presently commends Armanus, Claromontius, Pilius, and Franciscus Movinius, that they should go the King, and in his name acquaint him with what was done: then binding up his arm, and leaning upon his domesticks, he came on foot to his lodging, which was not far off: and when he was advised by one of his company that he should see to it, whether the bullets wherewith he was wounded were not poisoned, he answered, that nothing should befall him but what was ordered by God.

Forthwith they force the house whence the shot proceeded, and breaking open the dores, found the Musquet in a lower room. A young maid and a page that were found there, were taken and bound; for Morevel at a back-dore getting upon his horse, was already sled to St. Antony's Gate, where changing his horse, and mounting another that was ready for

that purpose, he made his escape.

II. The King receiving the news, as if he had been aftonished at an unexpected accident, "Shall I never, faith he, be at "quiet? and must new troubles alwaies arise from day to day? and then throwing his rocket upon the ground, he withdrew into the inner Castle. Guise leaving the Tennis Court, de-

parted another way.

Here all were full of wonder, and many were disturbed, being troubled in their minds to think what those things would come to. Many, even of those who bare no great good will to Coligny, detested the sact. But Navar and Conde presently repair to him, and when as in their presence he was handled by the Chirurgions, he was heard amidst all his pain to say (only) this. Is this the goodly reconciliation that the King did undertake for? then turning to Moore, Chaplain to the late Queen of Navar, he pronounced these words, "Ah my Brother, now I know I am beloved of God,

" for that I have received these wounds for his most holy "Names fake. God grant I may never forget his accustomed "mercies towards me. But when Ambrofius Paræus the King's Chirurgeon told him that the Gangreen growing on, his finger must be cut off, and did attempt to do it with an instrument that had no good edge, though he was forced to open and thut the thears three times, yet he gave no fign of fense of his most sharp pain: when he came to his left arm Merlin Conde's Chaplain came in, who when he began to comfort him out of the holy Scriptures, he brake out into these words; "My God, forsake me not in these troubles, " nor cease from thy accustomed mercies towards me. Then he whispered in the ear to one who held up his arm, that he should deliver to Merlin an hundred Aurei to be distributed to the poor of the Church of Paris: this I have often heard Paræus speak of, almost in the same words.

Thence Navar and Conde go to the King; and complain of the indignity of the fact; and fince they and theirs could not be secure at Paris, they desire leave to depart. Upon this the King aggravating the matter to the highest, and adding deeper oaths than before, promised that he would take such revenge upon the Assaine, the authors and abetters of this sact, as should satisfy Coligny and his friends, and should be an example to others for the suture: that what was done was as great a grief to him as to any, but since what was done could not be undone, he would take the greatest care that might be for a remedy, and would make all men understand that Coligny had the wound, but he had the smart: and that they might be eye-witnesses of this thing, he desires them that they would

not depart out of Paris.

And he discoursing thus, Queen Katharine, who was then present, seconded, and saith, "The affront was offered to the "King, not to Coligny; and if this villany should not be "punished, it would ere long come to that pass, that they "would even dare to set upon the King himself in his house: "therefore all means are to be used most sharply to revenge "so great a villany. These words being spoken with much heat, and seeming indignation, the minds of Navar and Con-

de were fomewhat appeased, who did not believe there was any diffirmulation, so that there was not a word more made

of their departure out of the City.

Prefencly same were fent to pursue the Assassine, though none as yet knew who he was. All the gates of the City are shut up till fearch had been made, except two, by which provision was brought in, and even they were kept by a guard appointed by the King. In the mean while the maid and the boy that were taken in Villemur's house, who was then from home, were examined a part by Christopher Thuanus, and Bernardus Prevotius Morfanus, Presidents of the Court, and James Viole a Senator: and the maid confessed that a few daies since Villerius Challius, a servant of the Guises, brought a Souldier to that house, and commended him to her, as if he had been the Master of the house, being a very near friend and familiar acquaintance of his, and that therefore he made use, as long as he was there, of Villemur's Chamber and Bed; but what his name was he did industriously conceal. who had served the Assaine but a few days, said he was sent by his Master, (who diffembled his name, and called himself sometimes Bolland, sometimes Bondol the King's Archer) in the morning to Challius, to defire him from him, that he would have the horses in readiness, which he promised him. From all which discoveries it was yet uncertain who was the Affaine: but when as they both agreed in Challius, it was given in charge to Gaspar Castræus Naucaus, Captain of the King's Guard, that he should seize him. and bring him forth to examination. Then Letters are written to the Governors of the Provinces by the King, in which he detested the fact, and commanded that they should make it their business that all might understand that it did highly grieve him, and that ere long there should be given a most severe example of fo great a crime.

In the mean while d'Anville, Cossaus and Villarius Marshals, visiting Coligny about noon, saluted him in most friendly manner, and told him that that they did not come thither to exhort him to patience and fortitude: "For that, say they, "these virtues are as it were natural to thee; thou hast been

wont to admonish others, and therefore wilt not be wanting " to thy felf. He answering with a smiling countenance, said, " I speak truly, and from my heart, death doth nothing af-" fright me. " I am ready most willingly to render to God " that spirit which I have received from him, whensoever he " shall require it. But I do greatly defire an opportunity to "confer with the King before I depart this life; for I have " fome things to acquaint him with, which concern both "him, and the fafety and honour of the Kingdom, which I "am well affured none of you dares carry to him. Then d'Anville told him he would willingly acquaint the King with that (his defire); and having so said, he with Villarius and Teligny daparted, leaving Coffæus there, to whom Coligny said, Do you remember what I said to you a few hours fince? be wife, and take heed to your felf. What he

meant by these words was not understood by all.

12. But when the King knew by d'Anville and Teligny his desire, he in shew seemed not unwilling to come to him about the afternoon. There came together with him the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren, Anjou and Alanson, Cardinal Borbon, Monpensser, Nevers, Cossaus and Tavanius, Villarius, Meruvius, Thoreus, Momorancies Brethren, Marfhals. Naucæus and Radefianus. These being let in, the rest are by the King's command thut out, except Teligny and a Gentleman of the Family, who Itood at the Chamber-door; here it is published in writing, that some secrets were discovered to the King by Coligny, but others deny it, and fay that the discovery of this secret was purposely hindered by the Queen, left the King, whose nature she began to distrust, being mollified, and perswaded by the word of Coligny, should change his resolution. That which was openly heard was this, when Coligny gave the King thanks, the King with a fad and troubled countenance did earnestly enquire of his state, and did protest, that what had happened to him was a very great grief to him. 'The wound is thine, faid he, but the pain is mine. But I fwear (then according to his man-'ner he swore) I will so severely revenge this injury, that the memory of it shall never be blotted out of the minds of

men. To this Coligny answered, God is my witness, before whose tribunal I now feem (ready) to fland, that I have been all my life long most loyal and faithful to your Majesty, and I always, and with all my heart, defired that your Kingdom might be most flourishing and peaceable. And yet I am not ignorant that there have been some who have called me Traytor, and Rebel, and a perturber of our Kingdom; but I trust, God will some time or other judg between me & them. before whom I am ready, if it be his pleasure that I should at this time depart out of this life, to give an account of my faith and observance towards you. Moreover, whereas I have been advanced by Henry your Father to many and great honours which your Majeffy hath been pleafed to confirm to me; I cannot but according to that faith and love that I have for your affairs, defire that you would not let flip so notable an opportunity of an happy enterprize, especially now that the breach is already made, and there are many tokens and pledges of your mind, as to the Belgick Expedition; so as if the matter now begun be relinquished. it will be very dangerous to your Kingdom. Is it not a most unworthy thing that an egg cannot be moved in your Privy Council, but presently almost before it be turned, a messenger runneth and reporteth it to the Duke of Alva? Is it not a most base thing that 200 either Gentlemen or gallant foldiers taken in Jenlis his fight, should by the command of Alva either be hanged, or undergo some other kind of punishment? which thing I do yet perceive to be here in the Court a matter of jesting and laughing. A third thing which I did desire to discourse with your Majesty about, is the contempt of the Pacificatory Edict offered by those that are in place of Jurisdiction, who do in most grievous manner daily violate the faith that was given by you; of which faith and oath even foreign Princes are witnesses. But as I have often told your Majesty and the Queen-Mother, I do not think there is any furer way of preferving peace and pub-'lick tranquility, than by a religious and severe observance of the Edicts. But they are so contemned, that of late at Troyes there was an affault made upon the servants of the wife

wife of the Prince of Conde: and when as the, according to the form of your Edict, had chosen a certain Village called Insula, in which our Religion should be exercised, yet

notwithstanding, of late, a certain man, and a nurse, and an infant, that was brought to the holy font, were slain upon

the way whiles they were returning from a Sermon that was

made in that place. And this happened a little before the August 10th.

4th. Eid, 6til.

To this the King answered. 'I esteem thee, my Father, as I have often affured thee for a valiant and faithful person, and one that is most careful for my honour. Lastly, I look upon thee as one of the chiefest and most valiant Comman-'ders of my Kingdom; nor if I had any other opinion of thee, would I have done what I have for thee. As for the Edict which I lately iffued out, I have always wished, and do wish that it may be most diligently observed. And to that purpose I have taken care that some choice persons should be fent through the Provinces, that may make this their bufinels; whom if thou doest suspect, others shall be fent in their places; (for in discourse he had said he did suspect them who had condemned him to death, and hanging, and fet a price of fifty thousand Aurei upon his head ). Then, that he might break off this discourse, he added, 'I see, my Father, that you speak earnessly, and that earnessness may hurt both you and your wounds. I will take care of this affair, (and again, swearing by the name of God), 'I do asfure you that I will most severely revenge this injury upon the Authors of it, as if it were offered to my felf. Then he. there is not need of any great fearch for the Author of the fact, nor are the discoveries already made very doubtful. But it is enough, and upon that account, in the most humble manner that I can, I give your Majesty thanks that you are pleafed graciously to promise me to do me right.

Then the King taking afide that Gentleman of the household that stood at the dore, commanded him to shew him the bullet wherewith Coligny was wounded, and which was taken out of the wound, that he might look upon it. It was a brazen one: then he enquired of him, first, whether much

CC 2

bloud

bloud flowed out of the wound; next, whether Coligny did fignify the grievous pains he felt by out-cries and complaints. And having commended his constancy, and the greatness of his mind, he commanded that Gentleman that he should not

depart from him.

These things passed for about the space of an hour in the Chamber of Coligny: the King drawing out the time with wandring discourses, and that he might put off the business of the Belgick War, to the mention of which, it is observed that he made no answer. Among these discourses Radesianus spoke to a friend of Coligny's concerning the removing him into the Castle of the Louvre for his greater security, if the people should tumultuate; which thing the King himself did sometime repeat, which almost all did interpret as an argument of the King's care of the health of Coligny. But when the Physicians, and chiefly Francis Mazilles the King's chief Physician, answered there was danger, if his body should be shaken in the carrying whiles his wounds were fresh, he would by no means be removed.

13. After the King departed, the Nobles of the Protestant party take counsel together, and John of Ferriers Vidame of Chartres, in the presence of Navar and Conde, conjecturing what was indeed the matter, faid that the Tragedy was begun by the wound of Coligny, but would end in the bloud of Therefore he thought it most late, that without delay they should depart the City: he produced testimonies and tokens for his opinion from the rumors that were spread abroad; for it was heard by many, when upon the day of Marriage the Protestants went out of the Church that they might not engage in worship; the Papists said, by way of mirch, that within a few days they should hear Mass. it was openly spoken in discourse by the chief of the City, that at that Marriage should be poured out more bloud than wine. That one of the Protestant Nobles was advised by the president of the Senate, that he should with all his family betake himself for some days into the Country. Besides these things, the counsel of Johannes Monlucius Bishop of Valence (when he was going Ambassador, into Poland) given

to Roch fou-cault, that he would not suffer himself to be intoxicated, and turned about by the smoke and unwonted favour of the Court, which deservedly ought to be suspected by all wise and cautious persons, that he would not be too secure to run himself into danger, and that he would timely withdraw himself, together with other Nobles, from the Court. But Teligny being of another mind, and saying that he was abundantly satisfied of the sincere love and good will of the King, Ferrerius, and those that thought as he he did, could not be heard.

The next day the Page was again examined, and new witnesses produced. In this examination Arnold Cavagnes was engaged, for so Coligny did defire, and all things were done in shew, as if there had been a diligent enquiry into the bufiness.

The next day, when as Coligny, and by his command Cornaton in the name of his fellows (who, he said, knew for certain that the Parisians, that is LXCI2 deadly enemies of Coligny would tumultuate, and take Arms), defired of the King and his Brother Anjou, a guard of some Souldiers to be fet to protect the house of Coligny, that if the people should make any disturbance, they might be restrained by fear of the King's guards, they both of them answered kindly and freely, and it was given in command to Cossenius Colonel of the Regiment of the Guards, that with some choice Bands he should keep watch before the dores of Coligny. To these were joyned, to avoid suspition, some, but few in number, of the Switzers of the guards of Navar. Moreover, for the greater security, it was ordered by the King, that the Gentlemen of the Protestants who were in the City, should lodge near Coligny's house, and it was given in command to Quarter-masters forthwith to allign lodgings: and the King gave command with a loud voice, that all might hear it, to one of the Colonels, that no Catholick should be suffered to come thither, nor should they spare the life of any that should do otherwise. Upon this occasion the Corporals went from place to place, and wrote down the names of Protestants, and advised them to repair near to Coligny; for that the King would have it so.

These and such like signs and whisperings abroad, though they had been enough to have warned the Protestants, if they had not been infatuated; yet by the constant dissimulation of the King it came to pass, that Coligny and Teligny could not perswade themselves that any such cruelty was in his mind. Therefore when the Nobles entred into consultation in the Chamber of Cornaton, in the house of Coligny, upon the same matter, and the Visdame of Chartres persevered in the same opinion, that they should depart the City as soon as might be, and prevent that imminent danger, though with some disadvantage to Coligny's health, who yet was that day somewhat better. Teligny was of opinion, and Navar and Conde agreed with him that they should stay in the City, otherwise they should offer a great affront to the King, that was so well affected towards them.

14. There was a suspition lest this should be carried to the King by one that was then prefent, that was Buchavanius Bajancurius, one very familiar with the Queen, who presently hasted to the Tuilleries, where a Counsel was held by the Conspirators under a colour of walking; there was the last time that they confulted of the manner of executing the defign. were prefent besides, the King, Queen, and Anjon, the Dukes of Nevers and Angolesme, the Balfard, Biragus, Tavannes and Radefianus. And fince by the death of one man whom the Physitians did affirm was like to recover of his wound, the grievance of the Kingdom, which was nourished by him. and diffused into many, could not be extinguished, it feemed good that it should be suppressed by the ruine of all; and that wrath which God would not have to be fatisfied with the bloud of Coligny alone, should be poured out upon all That was their voluntary resolution at first. the Sectaries. and now by the event, necessity and force is put upon their counsels, that the danger that hangs over the King and the whole Kingdom, cannot be avoided without the ruine of

Coligny and all the Protestants. For what would not he

do fo long as the faction of the Rebels remains entire after "fuch an injury? who, when he was no way provoked, was fo long injurious to the King, and hurtful to the Kingdom? whom now all might foresee, and dread, going out of Paris with his party, as a Lion out of his den, raging against all without respect. Therefore the reins are to be let loose to the people, who are of themselves ready enough, nor ought they any longer to withfrand the will of God, which would onot that more mild Counsels should take effect. After the thing is effected, there will not want reasons whereby it may be excused, the fault being laid upon the Guisians, which they would gladly take upon them.

Therefore all agreed upon the utter ruine of the Proteflants by a total flaughter. To which opinion the Queen was even by her own nature and proper defign enclined; some time was spent in deliberating \* whether Navar and \* The Duke of Conde should be exempt from the number of the rest; and as Guise was urfor Navar, all their suffrages agreed upon the account of his king of Navar Royal Dignity, and the Affinity that he had lately contracted. and the Prince For that fact which of it felf could not but be blamed by ma- of conde flain ny, would be so much the more blamed, if a great Prince near with the rest. of Bloud to the King, joyned in a very late affinity, should be It was also deflain in the King's Palace, in the arms as it were of the King bated whether his Brother-in-law, and in the embraces of his Wife. For among the rest there would be no fufficient excuse, nor would those argu- they should comments prevail to excuse the King, which might cast the blame prehend the upon the Guisians. Concerning Conde there was a greater Marshal d'Andebate, he lying under the load of his Fathers faults: yet Brothers, who both the dignity of the man, and the authority of Ludovicus professed the Ca-Gonzaga Duke of Nevers, affirming that he would be loval tholick Religiand obedient to the King, and also offering himself as a surety nearly related to for him, upon the account of that close and manifold relation coligny; but that was between them; (for Conde had lately married Mary they were fpaof Cleve the Sister of Henrica Wife of the Duke of Nevers), red, because the did prevail that he should be spared, and exempt from the eldest Brother Marshal Momonumber of those that were designed for the slaughter, as well rancy was ab-

15. Upon this the Duke of Anjon and Engolesme the Bastard depar-

fent. Da. p.370.

departing, as they rode in their Coach through the City, they spread abroad a rumor as if the King had sent for Momorancy, and was about to bring him into the City with a select number of horse.

The very same hour there was one apprehended who was suspected of the burt of Coligny, who confessed himself to be a servant of the Guises; which, when it was understood, Guise and Aumale, and others of the Family went to the King to remove that suspition; and complain that they were oppressed through the favour that was shewed to their enemies: that the ears of Judges were open to calumnies cast upon them, and that the they were guiltless, yet they were manifestly fet against: that they had a long time observed that they were, for what cause they knew not every day less gracious with the King: but yet that they did dissemble it, and hoped that time, which is the best Master of truth, would at last inform him more certainly of the whole matter. But fince they find no place for their innocence, they did, though unwillingly, and as forced to it, defire that with his good leave they might return bome. This was done openly, and it was observed that the King answered to these things somewhat coldly, and the rather, that he might perswade the Protestants that he bare no good will to the Guisians.

Upon this the King adviseth Navar that he should afford no occasion of mischiet to the audacity and violentness of the Guisians, things being so enslamed, and the people enclining to the Guisian party. That he should command those whom he knew most faithful of his servants to come into the Louvre, to be ready upon any sudden accident; which Navar did, interpreting it in good part, calling those which were most active to lodge with him that night in the Louvre

Caftle.

Wise men also did presuge some future commotions, when they observed armed men to run up and down about the City and the Louvre, the people to mutter, threatnings to be every where heard. This being brought to Coligny, he who no way doubted of the good will of the King, but thought it to be the device of the Guisians to enflame the people, sends one

whom the King answered, that Coligny need sear nothing: for those things were done by his command, to compose the tumults of the people that were stirred up by the Guisians.

Therefore, that his mind might be secure,

It was also told Teligny the very same hour, that Porters laden with Arms were seen to be brought into the Louvre: but he contemned the message, and answered, that unnecessary suspitions were sought for in this sad and dismal time, and forbad that this should be made known to Coligny, affecting the unseasonable reputation of prudence and moderation, from his despising of reports, and consequently of dangers: and excusing the matter, as if those Arms were carried into the Louvre upon the account of a Castle represented and affaulted in a shew.

16. Forthwith Gnise, to whom the chief command of the execution of the whole matter was committed, calling together in the deep of night some Captains of the Switzers, and the Captains of the French Troops, explains to them the Kings will and pleasure. 'That the time was come wherein, by the King's command, punishment should be taken upon that head that was so hateful both to God and men, and also upon the whole saction of the Rebels: that the beast was now in their toils: that they should take care that he escape not: that they should not be wanting to such an opportune occasion, of obtaining a more glorious triumph than they ever yet obtained in all their former Wars, with the bloud of so many Royallists: that the Victory was easy: that rich spoils are proposed, which they might acquire without bloud, as rewards of their good service.

upon this the Switzers are placed about the Louvre, to whom are joyned the French Troops, and command was given that they should look to it, that no man of the Family of Navar or Conde should go out of the Louvre. The keeping of Coligny's bouse was committed to Cossenius, to whom was given a party of Musquetteers to lie in the neighbouring houses,

that none might escape them.

Matters being so disposed as to the foreign Souldiers, the Duke of Guise calls to bim, John Charron, President of the Court of Revenues, (who, after a long canvasing, and often repulses, was at last put into that Office in the place of Marcellus Provost of the Merchants), and commands him that he should give notice to the Corporals to command their Souldiers to their Arms, but that they should remain at the Town-Hall till midnight, there to understand what was needful to be done.

The same thing was given in command to Marcellus, who though he was discharged of his office, yet for some private good offices that he had done, was retained in the Queens fayour, and kept his authority, though he loft his dignity. He by often going to the Court, brought himfelf into an opinion with men, that he was in favour with the King and Queen; and upon that account was acceptable to the people, and from his mouth the people, that were of themselves apt enough to flirs, were certified, 'That it was the King's pleafure that they should take Arms to cut off Coligny and the other Rebels; that therefore they should see to it that none were spared, nor that those wicked men should be any where concealed. So the King will have it, fo he commands, who allo will provide that other Cities of the Kingdom do prelently follow the example of the Parifians. The fign at which they should rife, is the tolling of the bell of the Palace-clock. The Mark whereby they should be distinguished from others, is white linen-cloath bound about their left arm, and a white cross in their hats. That good store of them (hould therefore be ready with arms and good courage, and take care that candles be lighted in their windows throughout all their houses: that no fir or tumult arise before the fign given.

The commands and admonitions of Marcellus are readily received by the Corporals, Colonels, Captains and Wardsmen of the City, who put themselves into a posture with the greatest silence that the sudden state of things would permit; setting their Guards in the streets and passages, but at first within dores. On the other part, the Duke of Guise and An-

golelme

golesme did what they could that things might be done as

they were ordered.

The Queen fearing lest the King, whom she thought she did obferve still wavering and staggering at the horridness of the enterprize, should change his mind, comes into his Bed chamber at midnight, whither presently Anjou, Nevers, Biragus, Tavannes, Radelianus, and after them Guife came by agreement. There they immind the King, hefitating, and after a long discourse had to and fro, upbraided by his Mother, that by his delaying he would let flip a fair occasion offered him by God, of subduing his enemies. By which speech \* the King finding him \* He died in self accused of Cowardise, and being of himself of a fierce less than two nature, and accustomed to bloud-shed, was inflamed, and gave years after of a command to put the thing in execution. Therefore the Queen proceeding, as laying hold of his present heat, lest by delaying it should was suspected, flack, commands that the fign which was to have been from poison given at break of day should be hastened, and that the given him by Bell of the nearer Church of St. German Auxerrois should of his Mother be tolled.

17. The Souldiers had for some time stood ready in their Anjon. v. l. 57. Arms drawn up in the streets, expecting the fign with greedy ears and defires: by whose clattering and unusual noise at so unscasonable a time, the Protestants who lodged by the King's command in the neighbouring lodgings, being awakened, went forth, and repaired toward the Louvre, where the concourse was, and enquiring of those they met what was the meaning of that concourse of so many armed men, and why so many candles were lighted, they, as they were instructed (beforehand) answered, that there was a certain mock-fight preparing, and that many from all parts did flock together to the fight. But when notwithstanding they went on further, they are injuriously repelled by the Guards that stood near the Castle, then railed upon, and reviled; lastly, they were beaten; the first blow being given by a Gascoign, and one of them having received a blow, the rest fell upon

and Brother

\* She lived to prosure the extirpation of all ber Pofterity, and to see the death of all ber lons but Anjou, who survived ber but few months, being after a furious rebellion against bim by Guife. and this faition, murdered by a Fryer. August 24th. + He was flain in March fol-Lowing, before

Rochel 155.

Which the \* Queen understanding, being impatient of all delay, the thence took occasion to tell the King that the Souldiers could not now be restrained, that he should command the fign from the Palace presently to be given; for it was to be feared, that if it were delayed any longer, all would be in a confusion, and things would fall out otherwise than he defired. Therefore by his command the Bell of St. Germans Church is tolled before break of day ix Kal. VII br. which day is the Feaft of St. Bartholomew, and fell upon a Sunday. And presently Guife with Engolesme and + Anmale go to Coligny's house, where Cofferius kept Guard.

Mean time Coligny being amakened, he understood by the noise that they were risen into sedition, yet being secure, and even fure of the good will of the King, whether through his own credulity, or through the perswasion of his Son-in-law Teligny, he thus thought with himself; that the people were stirred up by the Guissans, but as soon as they should fee the King's Guards under the command of Cossenius for the defence of him and his, as he supposed, they would immediately

fall off.

But the tumult growing on, when he perceived a Gun difcharged in the Court-yard of the house, then at last, but too late, conjecturing what the thing indeed was, he rofe from his bed. and putting on his night-gown, he raised himself upon his feet to his Prayers, leaning against the wall. La Bonne kept the keys of the house, who being commanded by Coffenius. in the King's Name, to open the Gate, he suspecting nothing, immediately opened it; ftrait-way \* Coffenius going in, la 18 Apr. follow- Bonne meeting him, is stabbed with daggers; which, when the Switzers who were in the Court-yard faw, they fly into the house, and shutting after them the next gate of the house, they barraeado it up with Chefts, and Tables, and other houshold-fluff, one only of the Switzers being stain in that first conflict by the Coffenians, by a Mulquet discharged. last the Gate being forced open, the Conspirators strive to get. up the stairs. They were Coffenius, Abinius, Corboran, Carditlac. & Sarlaboun, chief officers of the Companies, Achilles, Petruccius,

\* He was stain ing, before Rochel, 1. 56.

of Siena, all clad in Coats of Male, and Besmes a German. educated from a child in the Family of Guile; for Guile himself, with the rest of the Nobles and others, remained in the Court-ward. In that noise, after Prayers ended by Merlin, the Minister Coligny, turning to those who stood about him, who were for the most part Chirurgeons, and a few of his retinue. 'I fee, faith he, (with an undaunted countenance), what is doing; I am prepared patiently to undergo that death which I never feared, and which I have now long fince embraced in my mind. Happy am I who shall perceive my felf to die, and who shall die in God, by whose Grace I am raised to the hope of eternal life. Now I need not humane helps any longer. You, my friends, get ye hence with all the speed that may be, lest you be involved in my calamity, and your Wives hereafter wish evil to me being dead, as though I were the cause of your deaths. The presence of God, unto whose goodness I commend this soul which shall shortly fly from my body, is abundantly sufficient. Which as foon as he had faid, they go into an upper room, and thence through the roof every one his way.

Mean while the Conspirators, breaking open the Chamberdores, rush in; and when as \* Befmes, with his fword drawn, \* He was killed asked of Coligny who food by the dore, Art thou Coligny? about two years. He. with an undisturbed countenance, answered, I am he: after, 1. 60. but, young man, reverence my gray hairs; whatfoever thou doeft, thou canft not make my life (much) thorter. Whiles he faid to, Befmes shruft his fword into his breaft, and drawing it forth, struck him with a back-blow over the face, whereby he quite disfigured him: then with repeated blows he fell down dead. Some write that these words, shewing his indignation, fell from Coligny as he was dying. If at least I had died by the hand of a man, not of a scullion. But Atinius. one of the Affaines, repeated it io as I have written, and adds. that he never faw man in fo present a danger bear death with fuch constancy.

Much otherwise did Guise bear the sense of bis less apparent approaching death. For when after his conspiracy and rebellion

in the H League against the next King, be was with such like arts as bad been here used, brought into the snare which the King had laid for bim, and baving before neglected the warnings of bis friends, at last began to be suspitions of his danger though nothing visible appeared, bis vehement fear so prevailed over his distinulation, whereby be endeavoured to conceal it, that his whole body. though he sate by the fire, shaked and trembled, and, to immind bim of this present fact, a stream of bloud flowing plentifully from his nostrils; as he called for a napkin, he was fain to call for some Cordials to comfort his spirits: but yet nothing of danger visible, when in the midst of this his fear and languishing, be was by one of the Secretaries, who knew nothing of the design. called into the Kings Privy Chamber, whereupon, having saluted each of the company, as if he took his last farewell of them, going directly thither, be was no sooner entred, but the dore was boulted, and one of those who were appointed for the business, struck a dagger through his throat downward into his breaft, whereby his mouth was presently filled with blond, and stopped, that he could not speak, but only fetch so deep a groan as was heard with borror by these who stood by. This stroke was seconded by many others upon his head, breast, belly and groyn. And to this end be came, not as Colinius from his Prayers, but, after all his other wickedness from his whore, with whom he had indulged the night, and therefore came later than the rest this morning into the Counfel. Thu. l. 93. It was their different lives and actions which. made this difference in their deaths; for otherwife Guise was a man of great courage as well as Colinius

Then Guise asking Besmes out of the Court-yard, whether the thing were done? when he answered, it was done, he could not perswade Angolesme unless he saw it. Therefore Guise replying, and bidding him throw down the body, it was thrown out of the window into the Court-yard, as it was all ite was after- besmeared with bloud; when \* Angolesme not believing his own eyes, wiped off the bloud from his face with his handkerchief, and at last perceiving it was he, and as some add, kicking the corps in fcorn, going out of the house with his fellows into the way, Go to, fellow Souldiers, faith he, let us profecute what we have so happily begun; for so the King commandeth .

ards stabbed n death. 1. 85.

mandeth: which words being often repeated, when forthwith the Bell of the Palace clock rang out; they every where cryed, Arm, arm, and the people presently ran to Coligny's house; then the carkass after it had been abused in a strange manner, is cast into the next Stable, and at last cutting off his head, (which was fent as far as Rome), and his privymembers, and his hands, and his feet, they dragged it about the streets to the bank of Siene; which thing he had formerly prefaged by an ominous word, though he thought no fuch thing. When he was about to be thrown into the River by the boys, from thence he was drawn to the Gibbet of Mount Faucon, where, with his legs upward, and his body downward, he is hanged in iron-chains: then a fire is made under him, by which he is only fcorched, nor confumed; that he might as it were be tormented through all the Elements, flain upon the earth, drowned in the water, burnt in the fire, and hanged in the air. There when (his corps) had been exposed for fome days to the lust and rage of all spectators, and to the just indignation of many, who did boad that that rage would hereafter cost the King and all France dearly, Francis Momorancy, who had timely withdrawn himself from the danger, being near of kin, and nearer by friendship to the dead, took care that he thould by fome trufty men be taken down by night, and committed to the earth in a Chapel ar Chantilly, the add to reason gold and hearth and committee to the earth in a Chapel

In Coligny's house were flain in the tumult whosever they met, or found hiding themselves; and then the Souldiers betake themselves to plunder, and breaking open Chests, they take away mony, and other precious things, only they preferve letters and papers, for so the Queen commanded.

18: Thence Nevers, and Tavannes, and Monpenfer, (who joyned himself to them, through the hatred that he bore to Protestants) ride armed through the City, and spurred on the people that ran already, telling them, 'That Coligny and his 'Associates had laid a plot against the King, the Queen, the King's Brethren and Navar himself, and that it was detected by the singular Grace of God, and that the King prevented them.

them only in time: therefore, that they should not spare the bloud of those wicked men, who are the capital enemies of the King and Country, but that they should fly upon their goods as spoil lawfully gotten; that it was the King's pleature, that that pestiferous serpentine seed should be extirpated, that the poison of heresy being extinguished, there should for the suture not so much as a word be spoken of

any Religion but that of their fore-Fathers.

Then all being let loofe to fatisfy their hatreds, every one profecuted his enemy and rival with embittered minds. Many brake into houses through desire of prey; all ran upon the flaughter without distinction. At the same time Francis Count de la Roche-fon cault, being for his facetiousness and pleafantness in discourse very gracious with the King, when as but the day before he had, though unfeatonably, drawn out the night till late in jesting with the King, and from thence betook himself to his own house, he underwent the same fate with Coligny. For Bargius Avernus knocks at Roche-foucault's house, and telling him he had something to acquaint him with from the King; Roche-fou-cault himself commanding the dores to be unlocked, he is admitted in; when he faw men, as he thought, in disguises, supposing the King was not far off, who had fent men in jest to beat him, he beggeth them that they would deal better with him: but miserable man, he found that the thing was not to be acted in jeft, but in earnest; when his house being plundered before his eyes, he himself half naked, was most cruelly butchered by one that stood by him.

Also Teligny the son-in-law of Coligny having, by running over the tops of houses, escaped the hands of many, and at last being espied by the Guards of Anjou, he is also stain.

Antonius Claromonlius Marquess of Revel, Brother, by the Mother, to Prince Porcian, who had a contest with Ludovieus Claromonlius Bussius of Ambois, concerning the Marquesat of Revel, came to Paris in the company of Navar, hoping there to put an end to his troublesome controversy. But the matter had a quite other end than he expected: for when

in that turnult he fled into the house that was next to his at length he fell into the hands of his Consin German, pursuing him, who being his enemy upon no other account but the matter in controversy, cruelly slew him. But not long after the controversy being brought to an hearing, sentence was given for Bussius, but with no more happy success: some yier tue of an Edict afterwards made in savour of the Protestants, the sentence was repealed, and Ludovicus himself was for a far different cause, with the same cruelty beheaded.

Antonius Marasinus Guerchius a stout man, who the day before had asked Coligny that he might lodge in his house,
when, being in distress, he had not time to hide hitnself, taking his Cloak upon his arm, and drawing his sword, he for
a long time desended himself against the Assaines; yet he
slew none of them, being all in Coats of Male, but at last was

overpowred by the multitude.

The same calamity involved Baudinens. (the Brother of Acierius) Pluvialius, Bernius, being cruelly slain by the King's Souldiers: as also Carolus Quellevetus Pontius, President of Armorica, who had married Katharina Parthenæa, daughter and heir of John Subizius: but the Mother of Parthenæa complaining of the frigidity of her son-in-law, a Suit had been commenced to dissolve the Marriage but was not yet determined. Therefore, when the bodies of the sain were thrown down as they were slain before the Palace, and in the sight of the King and Queen and all the Court retinue, many Court-Ladies not being affrighted at the horridness of such a spectacle, did with curious eyes shamefully behold the naked bodies, and especially sixing their eyes on Pontius, did examine if they could by any means discover the signs of his frigidity.

Carolus Bellomanerius Lavardinus, the Kinsman of Pontius,

and sometime Tutor to the King of Navar in his childhood, fell into the hands of Petrus Lupus President of the Court, a good man, who when he would have saved him; and was commanded by the Emissaries of the Court of dispatch his prisoner; he, as he was a man of a ready and pleasant wit, asked so much time as till he could raise his passion; by which

Ee

speech

speech he for some time eluded their cruelty; but by and by a Messenger coming from the Palace as from the King, he was forced to deliver him into the hands of the Guard, who were to early him before the King; but they in the way first stabbed Levardinus with daggers, and then threw him over the Mill bridge into the River.

The same fortune, and in the same place, ran Claudius Gondimelas, an excellent Musician in our Age: who set the Psalms of David, as they were put into verse in the Mother-tongue. by Clemens Marot, and Theodoret Beza, to divers pleasant tunes, as they are now sung in the publick and private meet-

ings of the ProteRants

Brioline a Gentleman who was Tutor to Marquels Conte in his childhood, venerable for his grey head, being now an ald man, was likewise stain in the embraces of his Pupil, who stretched forth his arms, and opposed his own body to the blows.

Truly lamentable was the spectacle of Franciscus Nampar Commodius whenhad lodged in that neighbourhood, but which fortune, sporting after her manner, mingled with an event of unexpected joyfulness: he with his two fons, whom he loved with a paternal affection, being taken in bed by the murderers, who professed him with his children, not through an hatred of his Religion, but through hope of gain, was flain with one of his fonst the other being all blondy with the bloud that flowed upon him, faving himfelf from their blows as he could at that render age, (for he was hardly twelve years old) by the interpolition of the dead bodies, differnbling himself dead, he was at last left by them for dead : a little after, more san Booking to the houle for prey, of whom forme commended the fact, as well done; (for not only wild beafis, but their whelps are thogether to be dellroyed); others that had more humanity, faid, this might be lawful to be done upon the Father as guilty, but the innocent off fpring. which perhaps would never take the fame couties, ought to be fored. change their that came toward the evening of that day, when as one did highly detell the fact, and faid God would be the avenger of fuch impiery, the boy firetching his limbs.

limbs, and a little lifting up his head, gave figns that he was alive: and when he asked him who he was, he answered not unadvisedly, that he was the Son and Brother of the flain; not telling his name; concerning which, when he was asked again, he answered that he would tell his name, if he would lead him where he defired : and withal, asked him that he would take care to conduct him to the King's Armory, for he was near of kin to Biron Mafter of the Ordnance or Artillery; nor should he lose his reward for so great a benefit; which thing he carefully performed. This James Nompar, that is his name, with great gratitude rewarded the man brought to him by the Divine Providence, and afterwards married the Daughter of Biron, and is now chief of a Noble Family in Aquitania, Godfry Caumont his Unckle being dead, and leaving only one Daughter. Being raifed by the King to great honours, of which he carried himself worthy, as Colonel of the King's Life-guard, and Governour of Bearne, he seems to be preserved from that danger by the singular Grace of God, that he might by his numerous off fpring which he had by his Wife, propagate that Family that was reduced to a few, and by his virtue add the highest ornament to the honours of his Ancestors.

The same day were slain these Protestants of great note, Loverius thrown out of a window into the high-way, Montamarius, Montalberius, Roboreus, Joachinus, Vassorius, Cunerius, Rupius, Cobombarius, Velavaurius, Gervasius, Barberius, Francurius, Chancellor to the King of Navar, Hieronimus Grolstius Governour of Aurleance, and Calistus his base Brother, who were both inhumanely dragged about the streets, and at last cast into the River, by the instigation of those who

gaped after his office and goods.

Stephanus Cevalerius Pruneus, the King's Treasurer in Poictou, a man of great integrity, and one that was very solicitous for the good of the Common-weal, who had been the principal mover for the building the Stone-bridge of Vienne, laid at Eraldi-castrum, was by certain cut-throats sent by Stephanus Fergo Petauderius, (who sought after his Treasurer-thip), after the payment of a great sum of mony, cru-

is, by the commendation of Monpenlerius, whose affairs he managed, put into his office.

Alto Dionysius Perrotius the Son of Emilius, Senator of Paris, (a man not less renowned for his integrity than his knowledge in law), worthy of such a Father, underwent the

fame fortune. A dan A shi ca min an bash of the same bluon

19. Nor did they spare those whom Navar (being advised so to do by the King ) had brought into the Palace: for they were by the King's command made to come down from their Maflers chambers into the Court-yard, and being brought out of the Palace, their fwords being taken from them, they were many of them presently fluin at the Gates others were hurried to the flaughter without the Palace. Among these were Pardallanius, Sammartinus, Burfius and Armannus, Claromontins, Pilius, famous for his late valour in defending the Temple of St. John. He, when he was led out to be butchered, standing before the heaps of the stain, is said to cry out, "Is "this the King's faith? Are these his promises 2 Is this the " peace? But thou, O most great and most good God, behold "the cause of the oppressed, and as a just Judge avenge this "perfidy and cruelty: and putting off his Coat which was very rich, gave it to a certain Gentleman of his acquaintance that flood by; Take this from me as a remembrance of my unworthy death: which gift he not accepting under that condition, whiles Pilius faid these things, he was thrust into the fide with a spear, of which wound he fell down and died.

Leiranus now grievously wounded, but escaping out of the hands of the murderers, rushing into the Queen of of Navars chamber, and hiding himself under her bed, was preserved; and being carefully commended by Margaret to the King's Physicians, was healed. Bellonarius formerly Tutor to the King of Navar, having a long time lien under the Gout, was slain in his bed.

The King received to his grace Grammontanus Lord of Gascoign, Johannes Dursorlius Duralius, Joachimus Roaldus Gamarius, and Buchavarius, having promised to be faithful to him: and they were worth their word.

Then

Then the King calls Navar and Conde, and tells them, that from his youth, for many years, the publick peace had been disturbed by often renewed wars, to the great damage of his affairs; but now, at last, by the grace of God, he had entred into such a course as would extirpate all causes of future wars. That Coligny, the author of these troubles, was flain by his command, and that the same punishment was taken, throughout the City, upon those wicked men who were infected with the poilon of superstition: That he remembred what great mischiefs had befallen him from them, Navar and Conde, who had headed a company of profligate persons, and seditiously raised war against him. That he had just reason to revenge these injuries, and now also had an opportunity put into his hand; but that he would pardon what was past upon the account of their consanguinity, and the lately contracted affinity, and lastly of their age: and that he would think that these things were not done by the advice or fault of them, but of Coligny and his followers, who had already, or should shortly receive the just deserts of their wickedness: that he was willing that those things should be buried in oblivion, provided they would make amends for their former offences, by their future loyalty and obedience; and renouncing their profane superstitious Doctrine, would return to the Religion of their Ancestors, that is, to the Roman Catholick Religion: for he would have only that Religion professed in his Kingdom which he had received from his fore-Fathers. Therefore, that they should look to it that they do comply with him herein, otherwise they might know that the same punishment which others had suffered, did hang over their heads.

To this the King of Navar did most humbly beg, that no violence might be offered to their consciences nor persons, and that then they would remain saithful to him, and were ready to satisfy him in all things. But Conde added, that he could not perswade himself that the King, who had engaged himself by solemn oath to all the Protestant Princes of his Kingdom, would upon any account violate it, or hearken to their enemies and adversaries in that matter. As to Religion,

that :

were in the King's power to do with them what he pleased; but that he knew he was to give an account only to God of that Religion that he had received from God. Therefore that he was fixed and resolved never to recede from his Religion, which he knew assuredly was true, no, not for any present danger of life. With which answer the King being highly provoked, he called Conde stubborn, seditious, Rebel, and the son of a Rebel, and told him, that if he did not change his mind within three days, his head should pay for his obstinacy.

20. Many of the Protestant Nobles had taken up their lodgings in the Suburbs of St. German, and could not be perswaded to lie in the City. Among these were Johannes Roanus Fronteneus, Godofridus Caumonlius, Vidame of Chartres, Gabriel Mongomerius, Jo. Lasinius, Bellovarius, Segurius Pardallanius, and others. The destroying of whom was given in charge to Laurentius Mangironus: and besides Marcells was ordered to take care that 1000 Souldiers of the City Trained-Bands should be sent thither to Mangironus, who went but

flowly on in his business.

While this was doing, tidings came to Mongomery of the rumor of taking up Arms in the City, who fignified the same to the Vidame of Chartres, and presently they met all together, uncertain what was to be done; for that many confiding in the King's faithfulness, perswaded themselves that this was done without the King's command, by the Guisians, encouraged by the forwardness of the seditious people, therefore they thought it was best to go to the King, and that he would

fuccour them against any violence.

In that doubtfulness of mind (though the more prudent did not doubt that these things were done by agreement, and by the King's command) were many hours spent, so that they might easily have been destroyed, but that another impediment happened to the Conspirators; for whiles Maugironus doth in vain expect Parisians to be sent from Guise, who were all busied in plundering, Guise impatient of surther delays, calls forth the King's Guards out of the Louvre, intending whiles

whiles they passed the River to go thither himsels. And when he came to the gates, it did too late appear that they had mistaken the keys, therefore while they sent for others, it being now broad day, the Switzers and others of the King's Guards passing the Siene, were seen from the other side: and upon the discharging of a Gun on the other side of the River, as was thought by the King's command, the Associates take counsel to sty, and before they came, were gotten a good way off. Guise pursued Mongomery and others to Montsort, but in vain, and meeting with Sanleodegarius, he commands him that he should follow them with tresh horses. There were some sent to Udencum, and to Dreux, who should intercept them if they went that way: but all in vain.

Franciscus Bricomotius, who could not be destroyed in the tumult, slies to the English Ambassadors lodgings, † where he † In Bernardifor some days lay hid. Arnoldus Cavagnius also hid himself norum caio. not far from hence, with a friend, who fearing the danger, defired him to provide for himself; but both being taken, were cast into the Palace prison, and with that event which we shall

thew anon-

In the mean time Guile, with Aumale and Angolesme, return into the City, where the King's Guards did commit outrages upon the lives and fortunes of the Protestant Nobles and Gentlemen, even of those that were their familiars, and well known to them. This work being affigned to them in particular, whiles the people incited by the Sheriffs wardfmen and tything men that ran about, did furioufly rage with all manner of licentiousness and excess against their fellow-Citizens, and a fad and borrid face of things did every where appear. For the ffreets and ways did relound with the noise of those that flocked to the slanghter and plunder, and the complaints and doleful out-cries of dying men, and those that were nigh to danger were every where heard. The carkaffes of the flain were thrown down from the windows, the Courts & chambers of houses were full of dead men, their dead bodies rolled in dirt were dragged through the fireers, bloud did flow in fuch abundance through the chanels of the fireets, that full ftreams ... ftreams of bloud did run down into the River; the number of the flain, men, women, even those that were great with child,

and children also, was innumerable.

Annas Terrerius Chapius, being eighty years old, and an Advocate of great name in the Senate, was flain. Also Jo, Lomerius Secretary to the King, having compounded for his safety, was thrown into Gaol by Johannes Parisiensis Judge of Criminals, and having sold \* his Estate at Versailles to his adversary, with whom he had a Suit depending about it, at a low rate, and leaving his office upon the account of another, was afterwards slain by the command of those with whom he had those dealings.

\* Versalium fundum. Magdalena Brissonetta the Relict of Theobaldus Longiolius (an Irish-man, Master of the Requests) Neece of Cardinal Gulielmus Brissonettus, and besides, a woman of most rare accomplishments, and of no mean learning, when in old apparel, taking with her her daughter Francisca, and Johannes Spina a noted Preacher, who was her houshold Chaplain, she would have sted out of the City, being discovered by the cut-throats, and in vain put to renounce her Religion, being thrust into the body with pike-staves, half dead, she was tumbled from the Key into the River, where swimming about, a company of boats being drawn together, as if it had been to destroy a mad dog, with many gentle blows, she was at length most inhumanely drowned: Spina not being known, escaped in the throng, and CL. Marcellus coming in, they spared her daughter for her ages sake.

Peter Ramus, who was born at Vermand, when he had for a long time taught good learning, Philosophy, & at last Mathematicks, in Prelæa Schola, of which he was Master, and afterward in the King's School, he at last brought erroneous doctrine into his Philosophy, vehemently opposing Arittotle both by word and writing. When as there were great disputes between him and Jacobus Carpentarius, Claromontanus, as formerly there had been greater with Antonius Goveanus, and Joachinus Periomus; yet herein he was worthy of commendation, that by his wit, diligence, assiduity and wealth, he

did

did what in him lay to promote Leavning, inflituting a Mathematick Lecture, to which he gave out of his own Estate a yearly stipend of 300 pounds. He being drawn out of his Cell, wherein he had hid himself, by some murderers fent by Carpentar, his Rivah who also promoted the sedition, after he had payed (some) mony, receiving some wounds, was thrown out of, a window into the yard, whereby his bowels gushed out; which the boys, fee on by the fury of their enraged Masters, threw about the streets, and whipping his catkais with fourges in reproach to his profession, dragged in about in a most shameful and cruel manner. Which things when it came to the hearing of Dianyfour Lambinus, Monstrolienfis, King's professor of humanity, and of both Languages, and who, by many books that he had published, deserved well of Learning, and he was otherwise no friend to the Protefant Doctrine, yet was he so affrighted at the example of Ramus, that he could not be comforted, and it made fo deep an impression upon his mind, that he fell into a most grievous disease, of which about a month after he died.

From their contentions the name of Politick took its beginning, which afterwards became a note of faction, being given by the leditions, by those that favoured the King's par-

ty, and the peace of the Kingdom.

21; This fury did extend it self to those that never prosessed the Protestant Doctrine: For Gulielmus Bertrandus, Villemorius Master of Requests, son of Jo. Bertrand Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Cardinal) a good man, and liberal, and one that was injurious to none, was spoiled of his mony, and then slain by cut-throats sent by the above-mentioned Fergo.

Allo facabus Poliardus, a Senator of Paris, and Fellow of the Sacred Colledge, otherwise an unquiet and quarrelsome min, and one that was troublesome to the Parisian Captains, when he had for some days lien hid in the house of a Priest, his Friend, being discovered by the pratting of a Girl, was at length delivered into the hands of the murderers, and by one Cruciarius, (that was his name has Goldsmith after he had son some time kept him between hope and tear, had his head cut off. I have often beheld and heard that man that very well

deferved a Gallows, in a firange kind of cruel madness boats. Aretching forth his naked arm, that with this arm he had in that maffacre flain above 400 men. Afterward, whether induced to it by repentance, or the terror of his confcience, he put on hair cloath, and being infamous for fo many murders. that he might avoid the light of men, he went into folitude. profesting the life of an Anchoret: where yet he could not forget his cruel nature ! for in thele late wars he was accused. and almost convicted, that by the help of fuch men as himfelf, he had cut the throat of a Flemith Merchant, whose necellity compelled him to repair to his Cell.

+ Vici in Mediomatricibus præfectus.

Laftly Perrus Sulfeda a Spaniard, + who ffirred up the Cardinals war, of which we have spoken before, though he was no way enclined to the Protestant Doctrine, was the same day

fain by those who sought to revenge a former injury.

One Ronlart & Catholick, and Canon of Noftre Dame, and allo a Counfellor in the Parliament, uttering certain Speeches in misliking this lawless kind of proceeding without justice, was apprehended, and committed to prison, and murthered as diforderly as any of the reft, wherewith divers of the Catholicks themfelves were offended. This manner of proceeding breedesh general militrust in them of the Nobility, and every man feareth God's vengeance. Walfingham, Let. 16. Sept. 1572. In the Complex Ambaffador, p. 246.

And many of the Nobles escaped with great danger, and especially Thorens, who warned Coligny when Collenius was defigned to guard him, that he could not be committed to a more deadly enemy; and that now it was true that the theep was committed to the woolf. But it was believed that upon the account of the absence of his Brother Momorancy, he and his Brethren Damvilla and Mernvius were spared. fans his life was also in danger, for that he joyned with the

Momorancies, and favoured not the Guiffans.

Bironas in the Armory fearing upon the fame account what would become of him, planting two Culverins against the City, fortified trimled trill the fury of the people and the I have of on behele and heard that man that

Among the Protestants that were of any note, there escaped by a rare kindness of fortune, Job. Sancomoulius, Sauromarius Cugius Bricomolius Junior, and some sew others, Jacobus Crusfolius Acierius, by the commendation of his Brother Antony Duke of Uzes, and command of the Queen, with some † Uticensum others of the Nobility, were preserved by the Guisians to this ducisintent, as it was reported; that they might cast the odium of the Massacre upon the King and the sury of the people; as though they had no other design than to revenge their private injuries upon the head of Coligny, and also that they might by such a benefit hold those whom they preserved ever obliged to them. Nor did their expectations fail them.

Gulielpius Aleamarus Fervacius did endeavour to procure the same favour from the King for Franciscus Moninius, but all in vain; but he being discovered by his means, strait-way it was given in command to Marcellus to cut him off by the cut-throats. That day were sain to the number of two show-

Sand.

Toward the evening Proclamation was made to the multitude by found of Trumpet, that every one should betake himself to his own home, nor might any stir abroad; that only the King's Guards, and the Officers with their Troops of Horse, should go about the City upon pain of death to them that did not obey: so that when it was thought that there was an end put to those slaughters and rapines, the same massacre and liberty of plundering was continued the night

following, and the days following.

22. The same day the King, whether troubled at the horridness, or fearing the odium of the fact, by Letters directed to the Governors of the Provinces, casteth the odium upon the Guissians, telling them 'That the sedition was raised without his privity or consent: that they, as soon as they perceived that the friends and kindred of Coligny, whom he still called cousin, did intend to revenge the wound given him, that they might be before hand with them, stirred up so great a party of the Nobles and Parisians, that they, by their help, cut off the Guards that he had assigned to Coligny, and as many of his friends as they met: and this example was sol-

Ff 2

lowed with fuch fury and violence throughout the City. that fuch a remedy as might be wished, could not be applied in any due time. Now at last the fedition that feemed to be allayed, was again upon old grudges between the two Families, revived; which thing, lince it hapned contrary to his will, he would that all thould understand that the Edict lately published, was not thereby in any part violated; but he did command that it should be seligiously observed, and that the Governors should lee to it, that mutual slaughters shou'd not be committed in other Cities, nor that they 'should take Arms one against another, but that every one should keep home in the City and Countrey, and abstain from violence upon pain of death to those that did not obey. In the end of the Letter these words were added; Here I am with my Brother of Navar, and my Coulin Conde, ready to undergo the same fortune with them. The same day, were Letters of the same contents written by the Queen, lent not only through the Kingdom, but to the Dyet or Assembly of Switzers, and dispersed by the King's command through

England, and divers places in Germany.

23. The next day flaughters and rapine were continued. Petrus Platius President of the Court of Customs, a man eminent for his gravity, learning and integrity, (whom one Michael by name, Captain of a Band, had the day before cheated of a great lum of Gold by the help of Ilingers lent to him by Nic. Bellofremontius Senescaus, and Carronius Provost of the Merchants, defended himself from the fury of the people. That Senefceus was lately by the King put into the place of Innocentius Triperius Monstrolius, great Provost del Hespital: under whom that Office, whose jurisdiction belonged only to some mean person, of the King's Retinue, after that began to be conferred upon Gentlemen, as all those things which belong to the Master and Colonels of the Horse. He first obtained the name of great Provost, those being much offended at it, who, by how much was added to him in titles did complain that by so much their jurisdiction was diminished. That so large jurisdiction for some time after the death of Monstrolius had ceased, which at last the King

ad Lup.m.

conferred upon Senefezus, for the Noblenels of his Family, and fuch learning as with us is rare in a military perfor. Therefore Seneforus coming this day from the King to Placius, told him that though the King resolved utterly to root out the Protestants by flaving them, that there should not remain one that piffeth against the wall, wet that for many reations he would give him his life; and lens him to conduct him to the Louveet for that he did defire to learn from him many things condeming the affairs of the Protefairs, which it believed him to know hat Then Placius defited to excuse birifelf, said defired that he might faignill thering of the saffemit angemi schoolige epitalist and manual edesweed appear might bakend prilondrowner force in pleate while King !! On thought fitthe Benefeiris, white had secretary fuch to manual from the Quidely did haften him that he lived i without ides day lobey the King's command and a figured him Pezovius, one of the privy leaders of the Sedition for his greater vectority asche faid: by whomene was delivered into the hands of thefe that lay it avaits and being dirown before while uponswhich he rode he was flabbed with daggers in his bodyows dragged, and thrown into the Hable of a publick houle; and his houle lay three days open to ranfacking, his wife being fled, and his whildren wandsing hisher and thickers His office, which in his absence will the time of war was changed by Stephanis And Historia - se es word who pas of the characteristic basis of the characteristic will be the characteristic being the lieved to blive hired the fe cut throats against the life of Pladell Son of Coligny, anis of the bomesto min by as we suit

24A Such cruelty raging severy where while the Heavens feemed omore ithan rordinarily vierene prant accident hapned whereby the minds of the enraged people were after a firange meiner influence of An Omyacanilah, withich is a feind of furub which they call white abord prowing in the Church yard of St. Innocents, did, whether of its own accord, which fornetimes happens, when nature failing, that plant is come to that that it is about it delicoup; of whether by was in water powed uponit by impostplist did in an inaufustrim Open forth cit flower y Al which attenfactional flancing themtelves in their inadness, did refer to God, fignifying by these tokens,

againti

that what they had done was acceptable to him. And therefore they faid, that the Heavens did rejoyce to fee the Maffacre of the Protestants. And James Carpenter alluding to the Month, in a writing that he published, called that light Augusto Therefore the feditious flocking together at the fame of the bloffoming thorn, did skip about with great joy: which they also testified by the unusual beating of a Drum. though without command a fifor even that they might do then,) and so interpreted it asis the Protestants being sooted out, the Catholick Religion, and the Kingdom of France should recover its ancient splender and flower. But the Proseftants argued otherwise, and if this were to be looked upon as a Miracle, they faid this was portended by this fight the though the Church mucht frem by this wound to be utterly extinds yet it should come to pass that it should in a monderful and incomprehensible manner revive and flourish; which alforthey did confirm by the example of the wonder thewed to Moles in the buffig which though is burned, yet was it not confumed. They added, that it might be fail rather to be long to the commendation of introcesce, than the approbation of butchery, because the thorn blossomed in a place which took its name from Innocents and of the average and

A Castillionem

The same day some drawn out of the King's Life Guard by Gaspar Castreus Manozus, are by the King's command sent to + Chastillong to take and bring Goligny's wife and children, as also the some of Andoletus. But Franciscus the Eldest Son of Coligny, and Vidus Lavallus the Eldest Son of Andoletus, had already saved themselves by slight. All the rest are taken, and brought with all their precious houshold stuff to Paris.

of Coligny and his followers had been performed, the Guiles should immediately depart the City, and go every one to his own house, that thereby all might take notice, that whatforever had been done at Paris proceeded from their faction. But the Queen and Amjou especially (who did both of them with an lover wearing affection incline to the party of Guile) did intercede: (seeing) the Kingowas at first enraged only against

dew him on, who yet wavered, to the flaughter of all the Protestants in the City; so that not knowing where he set his took, they brought him by degrees to this pass, that he should take the whole blame upon himself, and so ease the Gullians, who were not able to bear such a burden. And to that end Anjou did, as left was laid, produce Letters found in Teligny's desk, written by the hand of Momorancy, in which, after the wound given to Coligny, he did affirm that he would revenge this injury upon the Authors of Momorancy in which, after the would revenge this injury upon the Authors of Momorancy in which, after the would revenge this injury upon the Authors of Momorancy in which the fame mind as if it had been offered to him.

Thereupon the Oreen and Anjou took occasion to thew the King, 'That if he perfitted in his former diffimulation, Pthings were come to that pals that he would endanger the Lecurity of the Kingdom, his Portunes, Riches, and Reputation. For the Guiffans, who do by thele Letters, and Otherwise, understand the mind of the Mothorancies, being "men defirous of troubles, and feeking grounds of them upon every occasion, will never lay down their Arms which they have by the King's command taken up, to offer this in-Find 1 That they will fill heep thein under pretence of destending their fafety, which they fay is aimed at by the enemy; and to that which was thought to have been the end of a most blood war, will prove to be the beginning of a more dangereus one. For the remainders of the Protestants. who fee their matters diffrested, will, without doubt, gat ther themselves to the Momorancies, who are of themselves Grong, and thence will take new firength and foirits; which if it should happen, what a face of the Kingdom will appear, when the name and authority of the King's Majeffy being flighted and trampled upon every one fhall take liberty to himfelf and indulge to private ha red and affections according to his own luft? Laftly, what will foreign Princes think of the King, who fuffers himfelf to be over-ruled by his Tubices, who cannot keep his luby croin their duty, and "Milly who knows not how to hold the thins of legal power? 'ThereTherefore therein no other way to prevent so great an evil, but for the King so approve by his publick Proclamation, of what was done, as if it had been done by his command. For by this means he should take the arbitrement and power to himself and on the one hand differenthe Guiss, and on the one hand differenthe Guiss, and on the other hand keep the Momerancies from taking up Arms, and lastly should bring it about, that the Protestant affairs now already very low, should be separated from the cause of the Momorancies. That the King ought not to sear the odium of the thing a for there is not so much danger in the horridness of a fact of the polium whereof may be somewhat allayed by excuse), as in the confession of weakness and inspotency, which doth necessarily bring along with it contempt, which is almost desirably bring along with it contempt, which is almost desirably bring along with its contempt, which is almost desirably bring along with its contempt, which is almost desirably bring along with its contempt, which is almost desirably bring along with its contempt, which is almost desirably bring along with a some

By these reasons they easily persuaded an imperious Painces who less seared harred than contempent hat he might recall the Guisians to obedience, and retain the Momoranties in their loyalty, to confirm by publick teftimony, that what foever had been done, was done by his will and command, ... Therefore in the morning, viz, upon the Tuelday, he came incoshe Senate with his Brethren, the King of Navar and a great retinue of Nobles, after they had heard Mals with Becat folempity and Court being called together, He complained of the grievous injuries that he had from a child received from Gafpar Coligny, and wicked men fallly presending the name of Roligion: but that he had forgiven them by Edicts made for the publick Peace. That Colieny, that he might leave no thing to be added to his wickedness, had entred into a conspiracy how to take away him, his mother, his brethren, and the King of Navan himself, though of his own Religion, that he might make young Conde King, whom he determined afterwards to flay likewife, that the Royal Family being extinct, he usurping the Kingdom, might make himfelf King. That he, when it could not otherwise be, did, though full fore against his will, extinguish one mischief by another, and as in extream dangers, did use extream remedies.

dies, that he might extirpate that impure contagion out of the bowels of the Kingdom. Therefore, that all should take notice, that whatfoever had been that day done by way of punishment upon those persons, had been done by his

special command.

After he had faid thefe things, Christophorus Thuanus, chief President, in a speech fitted to the time, commended the King's prudence, who, by diffembling to many injuries, had timely prevented the wicked conspiracy, and the danger that was threatned by it, and that that being suppressed, he had now fetled peace in the Kingdom, having well learnt that faying of Lewis XI. He that knows not how to diffemble,

knows not how to reign. Strondid and

Then the Court was commanded that diligent enquiry should be made concerning the conspiracy of Coligny and his. Affociates, and that they should give sentence according to form of Law, as the heinousnels of the fact did require. Then lastly Vidus Faber Pibraecius, Advocate of the Treasury (or Attorney General) flood up, and asked the King whether he did will and command that this declaration should be entred into the acts of the Court, to the preservation of the memory of it? whether the orders of Judges and Civil Magiftrates, which he had complained were corrupted, should be reformed? And lattly, whether by his command there should be an end put to the flaughters and rapines? To these things the King answered, that he did command the first; that he would take care about the second, and that for the third he did give command by publick proclamation through all the streets of the City, that they should for the future abfrom all flaughters and rapines. s Which declaration of the King afterlished many, and among the rest Thurse himfelf, who was a man of a merciful nature, and altogether aveile from bloud, and feared that example, and the danger that was threatned thereby: who also did with great freedom privately reprove the King, for that, if the constitucy of Colignyand his company had been true, heidid not rather proceed against them by Law. an Thisis most certainy heidld al Gg ways

ways detelt St. Bartholomewelday, using tholowerke of Sta-

Excidas illa dies avo, nec postera credant Sacula, nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa Noste, tegi proprie pasiamur crimina Gentis

So that he seems to have commended the King's art by a speech sitted to the present time and place, rather than from his heart.

The advising of the King to enquire into this conspiracy, is thought to have been from James Morvillerius Bishop of Orleans, who had left his Bishoprick to give himself wholly to the Court: a man of a cautious nature, but moderate and just, and who was never the author of that bloudy counsel. But when as that which was done could not be undone, he thought it was best for the reputation of the King, and for the publick Peace, that fines the adjum of it would not be wholly abolished, yet that it might by some means be mitigated, he perswaded the King and Queen, that to the things being now done, they should, though in a preposterous manner, apply the authority of Law; and that proof being made of the conspiracy, judgment should be passed upon the conspirators in form of Law; which thing Thuanus hitself approved, being consulted about it by Motvillerius upon the King's command.

Two days after a Jubilee is appointed, and Prayers are made by the King, and a tull Court in a great affembly of people, and thanks were returned to God, for that things had fue-beeded to happily, and according to their delires. And the fame day on Editi was published, wherein the King declared, that "Whatfoever had happened in this matter was done by his express command; not through hatred of (their) Religion, or that it should derogate from the Edicts of Pacification, which he would have to stand still in force, and to be religiously observed, but that he might prevent the wicked conspiracy of Coligon and his consederates. Therefore, that

chat he did will and command that all Protestants should live at home quietly and securely under his protection and patronage, and did command all his Governors to take diligent care that no violence or injury should be offered to them either in their lives, goods or fortunes; adding a fan-Ction, that wholoever did otherwise, should understand that he did it under pain of life. To thefe things a clause was finally added, which the Protestants did interpret to contradict what he had faid before; that, 'Whereas upon the account of their meetings, and publick Assemblies, great troubles and grievous offences had been firred up, they should for the future abstain from such meetings, whether publick or private, upon what pretence foever, till further order was taken by the King, upon pain of life and fortunes to those that disobeved. hierwish what was cone at

26. These Edicks and Mandates were diversly entertained in the Provinces, according to the divers natures and factions of the Governors; for those that were addicted to the party of the Momorancies, made a moderate use of them, but great was the rage and sury of others to whom secret commands were brought, not in writing, but by Emissaies, sol-

lowing the example of the Paritian Maffacre.

The beginning was at Meanx, as being nearest, where the fame day that the Maffacre had been at Paris, above two hondred were thrown into prison by Coffeens Advocate of the Treasury, an impudent man, who was chiefly affifted by Dionyfius Rollandus an Apparitor, and Columbus a Mariner. The next day they fet upon the Market that is out of the City, and the men being flipt away, they fell upon the women, whereof 25 were flain, and some of them violated by the rude mur-The day following, after they had every where rifled the houses of the suspected, they come to those that were imprisoned, who being called out one by one by Coffetus himself, were there sain as Oxen, by Butchers, in a Slaughterhouse, and thrown into the Castle-ditch, and the greatest part of them (the cut-throats being wearied) were drowned in the River Marne. And then Coffetus exhorts the neighbouring places that they should proceed in what had been so happily begun. But the presence of Momorancy President of l'Isle la France, who was then at Cantilia, not far from thence.

did hinder the feditious from flirring at Senlis.

But great was the rage at Orleans, which being once or twice taken by the Protestants, the fad ruines of the demolished Churches lying open to the eyes of all, did enkindle the minds of the people to revenge their injuries, being vet fresh: the day following therefore they began upon Campellus Bovillus, one of the King's Counfellors, whom being ignorant of what had happened at Paris, Currius a Weaver. the leader of the seditious, with some of his party, went as it were to vifit in the evening; he thinking that they came as friends to fup with him, entertained them as at a feaft; which Centertainment) the murderers having received, they acquaint him with what was done at Paris, and withal demand his Burse, which being delivered, they in the midst of their entertainment flay their Hoft. From thence, as if this had been the fign given, they flock together for three days to murder and spoil, above 1000 men, women and children, as it was thought, were flain; part were call into the siver Loise: these that were sain without the City were thrown into the ditch. Great was the plunder that was taken in all that time, and especially the copious Library of Peser. Montaureus (a learned man, who died four years fince of grief of mind, ar Sancerra) furnished with Books of all forts, especially with mathematical Manuscripts, the greatest part of them Greek, and corrected and illustrated by the labours of Montaureus himself, as also with instruments useful in that Science, contrived with admirable artifice, was with a most barbarous outrage taken away.

Also some were sain at Gergolium, the people raging through the neighbouring Cities, Towns and Villages, after

the manner of the Inhabitants of Orleance.

The same was done at Angiers, they beginning with Johannes Massonius Riverius, who was most barbarously slain as he walked in his Garden, by a cut-throat let in by his Wife, who suspected no such thing: as also others. Barbeus Ensign of the Prince of Conde's Regiment escaped the danger by slight,

allo Renacus Roboreus Breffaldus, one that was very trou-Blefome to Priests, many of whom he had unworthily maimed, was afterwards executed. Il the a signing of

The Townsmen of Troyes, of whom Coligny had a little before complained to the King, when they heard of the turnule at Paris, prefently fet guards at the City-gates, that none might flip forth; and having upon 3 Rat. VII bris, cast August 30 th. all the suspected into prison, five days after, by the command Anna Valdraus Simphalius, Governor of Troyes, upon the infligation of Petrus Bellinus (who, as was believed, came lately from Paris with private commands) they were brought out one by one, and flaughtered by the cur-throats, and buried in a ditch digged in the very prilon; and presently after, the King's Proclamation, wherein they were commanded to leave of killing and fpoiling, was published by Simphalius, who, as it is laid, received it before the flaughter was committed.

At Vierzon, when as at the yet uncertain report of the news, the Gates of the City were that up by the divertity of Letters that were fent in the King's Name, the Townsmen held their hands for fome time from violence, contenning themselves to have cast the suspected into prison, till at last flirred up by the example of the men of Orleance, they raged with the same madness against the imprisoned. Franeifeus Hottomannus, and Hugo Donellus, who professed Civil Law in that City, by the help of their Scholars, and especially of the Germans, escaped the present danger.

Two days after the uproar at Paris, the Regiment of Horfe that belonged to Ludovicus Gonzaga, under pretence of muster, and receiving their pay, seized on la Charite, a Town Iving upon the River Loire, below Nevers, and the people being flirred up by Letters from Paris, 18 were flain in the Town; Petrus Mebelinus, and Johannes Lerius, well known . by his voyage into America, did beyond their hopes escape the hands of the murderers, and fled to Sancerra.

27. The greatest Massacre of all was at Lions, for in that : City, as it is very populous, the Gates being presently thur, many are taken and cast into prison, by the command of Fran-

ci cus

August 29 th. Conchiliatorum equitum torque donatus.

cifeus Mandelouse, Governor of the Town, under pretenne, as he faid, that the King's Guarda might protect them from the rage of the people; but many while they are lead by the fedictions, as if it had been to prilon, are flain in the blind lanes of the Town, and presently cast into the Rivers la Saone and Rhone. The ring-leader and chief promoter of this was one Boidons, a wicked debauched fellow, who afterward came to his deferred end being executed at Claremont in Auvergne-Three days were spent in rishing houses, and finding out these that were suspected: which being done on Friday 4 Kalends of VII br. Duperacus (a Citizen of Lions, but lately advanced to the order of Knighthood: the honour of this order for many years being decayed, fince it began to be bestowed upon unworthy persons) came from the Queen with infirmctions and letters of credence, bringing allo letters from Claudius Rubius, and other City Officers, men of like manners, who managed the affairs of Lions at Paris, and in the Court; in which (letters) is declared what was done at Paris, and withal it was added, that the King did will and require that the men of Lions should follow the example of the Parifians. Mandelotus, a prudent man; though he was looked upon as enclined to the Guisian faction, abhorred the barbarousness of the thing, and obtaining of the urgent multitude some days truce, till he had deliberated upon the matter, and till letters came from the King, which he faid he daily expected; in the mean time he made open Proclamation. that the Protestants should repair to the Major's house to hear from him what was the King's pleasure. They poor wretches coming out of their hiding places, as if they had been received into the King's protection, came to him, and by his command were committed to feveral prilops; for the King's prisons upon the River Rhone were not able to receive such a multitude. Upon this, Perrus Antissiodorenfis Chamberlain of the City, a man wicked and infamous for dishonest lusts, rode post, and without letters, as if the dignity of the man had carried authority enough with him, affirms to Mandelotus, that this was the Kings and Queens will and pleasure, that the Protestants that were taken, or could be taken, should be flain

Rodanenses Regii.

fish without expicting any further command) 19 Therefore Mandelotus being overcome by the importunity of the muttirude that Rood round about him, to whom Antifliodorenfis had sold the feeret, yielderh, and turning to the meffenger of Cohorrid a fentence, I will, faith he, fay to thee Peter, what Chain hererofore faid to Peters whatfoever thou bindeft, let ic be boundy and whatfoever thou loofen, let it be loofed; and prefently all tan to the flaughter and spoil, Morniellus and Clavius, wicked men, and ready for any mischief, joyned themselves to Boidomus. When they would have had the help of the Common Hangman in that matter, he refused, and faid that he was ready to obey the fentence of a lawful Magistrate, but he would not meddle nor trouble himlelf with fuch promiscuous executions! When the same thing was commanded the guards of the Castle, they likewife being much moved at the motion, answered with difdain, that they were no Hangmen, nor did fuch dishonourable employment become Souldiers : those miserable men never injured them: therefore they hired men from the Shambles, and fliameless persons out of the dregs of the people's [but neither would they do it;] at length all thefe detesting the fact, they came to the City Train-Bands, which confined of 300 Townsmen, who did readily undertake against their own fellow-Citizens, what hangmen and Brangers had resolutely refused. Out of these Bands therefore are cholen all the veriell rake hells, and they leading on, they ran violently to the house of the Franciscans, Cthis was done upon the following Lord's day) where part of the Protestants were kept, and then to the house of the Celestines, where a great slaughter was made: whiles Mandelotus, with Sallacius Manta Governor of the Caftle, ran with all foeed to the cumule railed by the people in the fuburbs nexe the River Rhone, they make an affault thon the Arch-Billion's house, where 300 chief Protestants were, by the Governor's order kept in prilon : and first carefully examining their purses, they most barbarously slew them, praying unto God, and imploring the faith of men. A milerable fad fight ! Supplices & while the Sons hanging about the necks of their Fathers, and Dei hominumg; fidem Fathers embracing their Sons, Brethren, Friends, exhorting implorantes.

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one another to conflancy, they were flain like theep by mentiless Butchers, Porters, Water-men, among the fid lamentative ons and horrid cries that did refound all over the City. Which thing Mandelotus in all hafte returning from Guilloteria, but yet after the thing was done, feemed to be much troubled at. as if it had been done without his confent or privity s and coming to the place of the Maffacre, taking the King's Officer along with him, that he might enquire into the matter in a legal way, and proofs being taken by a publick Notary, in a ridiculous dissimulation, he commanded Proclamation to be made, that those that knew who were the Authors of this outrage, should tell their names, an hundred Crowns being proposed to the informer and discoverer for his reward. In the evening the fame Butchers went to the publick prison, upon Rhone, and raged against the prisoners with a new fort of cruelty; and miferably tormented them with halters put about their necks, and dragged them half dead into the River that was near. The night following is spent, in slaughters and plundering; houshold-stuff is carried out of houses, and wares out of thops; those that hid themselves are by spies brought out of their hiding places, and many thrown into the River. Mandelotus being offended at the horzor of the fight of the bodies of the flain lying in the Court of the Arch-Bilhop's house, commanded them to be put into boats. and carried to the other fide of the River, that they might be buried in the Church yard of the Monaftery of Aifbay. where was formerly the Altar of Lions, and fent men this ther to fee them buried. But the Monks faid they would never fuffer that, and that those carkaffes were unworthy of burial. Therefore, upon a fign given, there is a concounte made, and they are thrown by the raraged people into the River; the groffer bodies being given to the Aporthecaries, upon their defir , for their fat, as is reported by those who wrote whiles things were fresh. Nor did the slaughter flay For not long after the (two) Brothers, Darnii, Merchants of great account, Labellaux, Galterns, and Floccardus honourable Citizens, being brought out of the prilon, had their throats cut, and were cast into the River Rhone Among

among thefe flaughters forme efeated by the help of the guards, and the favour of Manta the Governor, among whom were To Riealdus, and Antonius Callia, Paftors of the City. when as Foannes Anglus, chief Pastor, was slain in the first rumult. It is faid that 800 of all kinds and fexes were barbaroufly flain; the carkaffes of the flain swimming down Rhone to Turnonium, lay to thick about the banks, that the Townsmen affrighted at the accident, cried Arm, Arm, as if the enemy had been coming upon them: by and by being amazed with horror, and detefting the authors of fuch a villany, though they had no favour for the Religion of the Proreftants, to remove that fad fpectacle, they fet men to thruft the bodies off with poles from the banks which the fwift fream brought down. So horiid a spectacle they also detested at Vienne, at Valence, at Burgh, at Viviers, at the Temple of the Spirit, yea, at Avenion, where there is great hatred of the Protestants. But at Arles, when through want of wells and forings they drink of the water of the River; the Townsmen, besides the detestableness of the villary, were grievously diffressed; when as they would not use the fishes and water that they could be supplied with only from Rhone; yea, they abhorred the very fight of the River. and along to your in

28. But in Dauphine and Provence things were carried af-Ger far another manner. For Claudius Sabaudus Count of Tende who was very nearly allied to the Momorancies when Letters were brought him about the fame business by Foleobus Bonifacius Mola, who two years after came to an + un- + Being execuhappy end at Paris, ingenuously answered that he did not ted, and his think that that was the King's pleasure, but that some that quarters fet upwere evilly affected to the publick Peace, did falfly pretend his on the Cityname, when as not many days fince he had received quite other commands: that therefore he would rather obey the former, as more worthy of the King's Faith and Clemency. But he not long after being at Avignon, died of a sudden disease, to the great grief of the people of Provence, not without fuspition given him by the Emissaries of the seditious.

In Dauphine, Bertrandus Simiemus Gordius, educated in the Family of the Momorancies, receiving the fame command,

gibus,

he excused himself, pretending the great danger he was like to be in from the powerfulnels of Mombranius, and other Protestants in Savoy and Dauphine, yet some were slain at Valence.

Also at Romans there were some flain, though it were late Septembr. 22. first, viz. 10 Kal. VIII br. where, when many of that great number that was cast into the prison, for fear of death returned to the Religion of their Ancestors, only seven were stabbed with daggers by the raging people.

Alfo Santeranus Governor of Auvergne, who also was well affected to the Momorancies, used the same moderation, and made the fame answer to those that came posting to him from Court, that the Count of Tende had done before him, adding to this moreover, that he would never obey such commands, unless the King in person did command him.

August, 31.

rentii. \* Regium montem,

Greater was the fury that did rage at Tholonfe: for news of what had been done at Paris being brought prid, Kal. VII br. which was the Lord's-day, upon which the Proteflants went out of the City to Castanetum to Sermon, straitway the Gates were thut up, and care was taken that no one should go out, but that whosoever would might come in. But many of those that had gone out would not return into +Podium Lau- the City, but went thence to f le Puy, St. Laurence, Montauban, \* Regiment, and some one way, some another. Two days after, by authority of the Senate, publick Proclamation was made that no violence or moleflation should be offered to the Protestants. The day following, Guards being set at the Gates of the City, and in the Streets, those that were suspected are some of them distributed into Monasteries, others are cast into the common prisons; some days after, upon the coming from Court of Delpechius and Madronius, rich Merchants, and most bitter enemies to the Protestants, they were all thrown into the Palace prison, where presently in the night, by certain cut-throats chosen out of the Students of the Civil Law, that went to the Fencing-School, (among whom one Turrius was most eminent), together with other men of lewd life and convertation, 200 were barbaroufly ilain, and among them some Senators, and in the first place 7 oban-

Fohannes Corafius: who afterwards, to double their cruelty. were hanged in their Senatorian habits, upon an Elm growing in the Palace-yard: the bodies of the dead were buried

in a ditch made in the Arch-Bishop's house.

At the fame time, but with greater flaughter, were things carried at Rouen, where Tanaquilius Venator Carrugius, the Governor of the chief Nobility of Provence, a man of a merciful disposition, did what he could to hinder it. But at last, not being able any longer to withstand the violence of the feditious, (and especially of those who, the year before, were, by the decree of the Judges, delegated from Paris, profcribed, who hoped that, by this course, they should both revenge the injury offered them, and also obliterate the memory of the Decree), many were thrown into prison, and afterwards 15 Kal. of VIII br. being called out one by one by the voice of Septemb. 17. the Cryer, were cruelly flain by those Emissaries, Maronimus a most wicked wretch leading them on. Upon this they set upon private houses, and that day and the day following they fell upon men & women, without distinction, and 500 of both fexes and all ages were flain, and their bodies being stripped, were cast into the ditches ad Portam Caletensem, and their garments all bloudy as they were, were distributed among the poor, they seeking even by these murders to ingratiate themselves with the people. This the Senate was in shew offended at, and began to proceed against the Authors of this fact : but through connivance it came to nothing, the murderers and cut-throats for a time flipping out of the City.

This example raged through other Cities, and from Cities to Towns and Villages; and it is reported by many, that + more than thirty thousand were flair in those tumults + It was crethroughout the Kingdom, by several ways; though I believe dibly reported

the number was somewhat less.

[In September, Castres, a City in la Paix Albigeois, which flain above was beld by the Protestants, when after great promises by the nots in a sew King for their Safety, it was delivered into the bands of Creuseta days, saich Daone of the principal of the neighbouring Gentry, it was by him vila, P. 376. cruelly plundered, and laid wafte.

that there were!

In the beginning of October bappened the Massacre at Bur-The Author and chief Promoter of it is reported to deaux. bave been one Enimundus Augerius, of the Society at Claremont. who also is said to have perswaded Franciscus Baulo, a very rich Senator of Burdeaux that he should leave his mife; and being Supported by his wealth, he had founded a rich School in that City: He, when as he did in his Sermons daily inflame his Auditors, that after the example of the Parifians they should dare to do something worthy of their piety : So especially upon S. Michael's day, when he treated of the Angels, the ministers of the grace and vengeance of God, what things had been done at Paris, Orleance, and other places, be did again and again, by often repeated Speeches, inculcate, to have been done by the Angel of God: and did both openly and privately upbraid Romanus Mulus the King's Solicitor, and Carolus Monferrandus Governor of the City men of bis faction, as dull and cold in this bufines, who contented themselves to bave interdicted the Protestants the liberty of meeting together, and to have kept the Gates of the City with quards; but otherwise they wholly abstained from violence and flaughters, being admonished so to do, as is believed by Stozzius. who had a defign upon Rochel, & who did fear, left that should bin. der bis attempts. But when as about that time Monpelatus came to Blave, as though the fign for effusion of bloud bad been given by his coming, certain men were flain in that Town. But when be arrived at Burdeaux, the people began to rage, and the feditions to run up and down. Enimundus thundered in his Preaching more than ever : at last, after some days private discourses of Monpelatus with Monferrandus, though it be uncertain whether he did discourage or persmade the thing, when Monpesatus was departed, (who) a little while after died of a Bloudy Flux. V Non. VIII br. which fell upon a Friday, the Magistrates of the City with their Officers, as they were Sent, came after dinner to the house of Monferrandus, bringing with them lend & impudently wicked men, who were drawn tagether by Petrus Leftonacus, and receiving the word of command from bim, they ran shrough the City to the flaughter, being distinguished by their red Caps, a fien very agreeable to their bloudy design. They began with Joannes Guillechiu, and Gul-Sevinus, Senators, who were both cruelly murdered

Octobr. 3.

murdered in abeir baufes, which were prefently rifled. Alfo Bucherus the Senator, who had redeemed bis life of Monferrandus for a great sum of mony, did hardly escape the danger, whose bouse was also plundered. Then promiscuous slaughters and rapines are committed for three days together throughout the City. wherein two hundred fixty four men are faid to be flain, and the Maffacre bad been much greater, had not the Caftle of Buccina and the other Caltle of the City yielded an opportune place of refuge to many. Jacobus Benedictus Longobaftonus Prefident of the Court was in great danger of death, and was bardly pre-

served by the belp of his friends.]

29. Nor were they in the mean time in quiet at Paris and at Court, where, by the Queens special command, and the diligence of Morvillerius, Coligny's Cabinet was examined, if by any means they might find any thing in them which, being published, might take off the odium of so bloudy a fact either in the Kingdom or with foreign Princes. Among those Commentaries which he did every day diligently write, which were afterwards deftroyed by the Queens command, there was a passage in which he advised the King that he should be sparing in assigning the hereditary portion, which they call Appennage, to his Brethren, and in giving them authority, which having read, and acquainting Alanfon with it, whom the had perceived to favour Coligny; This is your beloved cordial friend, faith the Queen, who thus advised the King. To whom Alanfon answered, 'How much he loved 'me, I know not; but this advice could proceed from none but one that was faithful to the King, and careful for his affairs.

Again, there was among his papers found a breviate, wherein, among other realons that he gave for the necessity of a War with the Spaniards in the Low-Countreys, this was added, as being omitted in the Speech which he made to + v. Walfingthe King, left it should be divulged, and therefore was to be ham's Letter fecterly communicated to the King, that if the King did not 14 Septemb. accept of the condition that the Low Countreys offered, he 1572 in the fhould † not transfer it to his neighbours of England, who, Ambassador, though they were now, as things flood, friends to the King, if p. 241.

once they fet footing in the Low-Countreys and the Provinces bordering upon the Kingdom, would refume their former minds, and being invited by that conveniency, of friends would become the worst enemies to the King and Kingdom. Which being likewise imparted to Walfingham, Queen Elitabeths Ambassador, and the Queen telling him, that by that he might judge how well Coligny was affected towards the Oucen his Miltress, who so much loved him. He made her almost the same answer, and said, 'He did not know how he was affected towards the Queen his Mistres; but this he knew, that that counfel did favour of one that was faithful to the King, and most studious of the honour of France, and in whose death both the King and all France had a great 'loss. So both of them, by almost the same answer, frustrated her womanish policy, not without shame unto her felf.

About the end of the month wherein Coligny was flain, the King fearing left the Protestants should grow desperate in other Provinces, writes to the Governors with most ample com-Carnii Comes, mands, and principally to Feliomrus Chabolius Prelident of Burgundy, in which he commanded that he should go through the Cities and Towns that were under his jurisdiction, and friendly convene the Protestants, and acquaint them with the turnult at Paris, and the true causes thereof. 'That nothing was done in that affair through hatred of their Religion, or in prejudice to the favour that was granted them by the last 'Edict: but that he might prevent the conspiracy made by Coligny and his confederates against the King, the Oueen. the King's Brethren, the King of Navar, and other Princes and Nobles. That it was the King's pleasure that his Edicks 'might be observed, and that the Protestants every where 'taking forth Letters of security from the Presidents, should 'live quietly and fafely under the King's protection, upon pain of death to any that thould injure or molest them in any thing. On the other hand, he should admonish the Protestants that they should keep themselves quiet at home; and because in their Meetings and publick Assemblies there used to be fuch Counsels among the Protestants as were suspitious to Catho-

Catholicks, and which might put them upon new flirs, therefore, that they should abstain from those meetings, and exped the same favour and safety from the King's clemency 'and goodness as he doth exercise towards others. But if they should foolishly neglect this advice, command and promise of the King, and should presume to meet publickly, fir up troubles, and take up Arms under colour of their own defence, he would then proceed against them as against Rebels. To the same effect were Letters sent to Melchior Monpefatus, Prefident of Poictou, Pria Prefident of Toures, and the Prefidents of other Provinces. Chabolius managed his office with great prudence and moderation, having learnt that the Protestants, who had hitherto been exasperated by severity and cruelty of punishments, might be better reduced to their duty by elemency and mildness. And matters were ordered without almost any bloud-shed in Burgundy; many returning either through fear, or of their own accord, to the Religion of their Anceltors, renouncing the Protestant Do-Ctrines. Only Claremontius Travius of the prime Nobility, whole Sifter Helena Antonius Grammontanus had married, was, when the news was hot, flain at Dijon, in the absence of Chaborius, by the people. Those that were suspected as Mafeon, being by the King's command apprehended and caft into prison by Philibertus, suffained no surther damage.

and the liberty of killing and plundering represed, when the more prudent, that yet no way savoured the Protestant panty, did, upon the sad thought of the present state of things, by little and little, come to themselves, and abhorring the sact, did curiously enquire into the causes of it, and how it might be excused, they thus judged. That no example of like emelty could be found in all Antiquity, though we turned over the Annals of all Nations. These kinds of outrages had been confined to certain men, or to one place, and might have been excused by the sense of injury newly offered, or their rage did only exercise it self upon those whom it was their interest to remove out of the way. For so by the command of Mithridates King of Pontus upon one message, and the significant

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The Sicilian Vespers. Subjection of one Letter 40000 Romans were flain in one - day throughout all Asia. So Peter King of Arragon commanded 8000 Frenchmen to be flain in Sicily, who had ' feized upon it in his absence : But their case was far different from this: For those Kings exercised their rage upon firangers and foreigners, but this (King) upon his own subjects. who were not more committed to his power than to his faith and trust. They were obliged no otherwise by their faith given than to the strangers themselves, but he was bound in a late league with his neighbouring Kings and Princes, to keep that Peace which he had sworn to. They used no arts unworthy of royal dignity to deceive them, be for a fnare abused his new engaged friendship, and the facred Nuptials of his own Sifter, whose wedding garment was even flained with bloud. These are the vertues that use to be commended in Kings, Justice, Gentlenels and Clemency; but favageness and cruelty, as in all others, so especially in Princes use to be condemned. Famous through all ages was Publius Scipio, who was wont to fay he had rather fave one 6 Citizen than flay a thousand enemies; and Antonius; who was called the Pious, did often use that laying. Kings indeed have power of life and death over the Subjects of their Realm, but with this limitation, that they should not proceed against them till their rause was heard upon a fair tryal. This rage and blindness of mind was fent by God upon the French, as a judgment for the daily executions and reproaches of the Deity, from which the King himself, ill educated by his Mother, and by those Tutors, that she appointed him did not at all abitain; the example whereof Sproceeding from the Court to the Cities, and from the Cificies to the Country-Towns and Villages, they now at every third word fwore by the head, death, bloud, heart of God. 'Moreover, the patience of God was even wearied with their Whoredoms, Adulteries, and fuch lufts as are not fit to be spoken. Lastly, nature it self doth now expossulate as it were with God for his follong patience and for bearance, nor could the Country of France any longer bear such prodigious wickedness. For as for the causes which are presended

against Coligny, they are seigned with such improbability. that they can hardly perswade children, much less can they be proved. For how is it probable that Coligny should enter into such a conspiracy within the walls of Paris, who though he were guilty before the Pacification, (to suppose 'that), yet certainly after the Edict, if indeed the publick Faith and the King's promises ought to be observed, he came to the King guiltless, altogether abhorring a Civil War, and solicitous only about the Belgick War? But whereas they fay he conspired after he had received his wounds, this hath less colour of truth. For how could Coligny that was indifposed by two such wounds, now grown old, dif-'abled in both his arms, one of which the Phylitians talked of cutting off, rife with three hundred young men that attended him, against an Army of fixty thousand men, that bare him deadly hatred, and that were well appointed with Arms? How could he in so little time consult concerning so great and vast a design? for he lived hardly forty hours after he had received his wound, in which all conference was forbidden him by his Physitians. Then, had he been accused of any crime, was he not committed to Cossenius and his guards, and the passages being every where secured, was he not in the King's power, that he might in a moment, if it had so pleased the King, been thrust into prison? and witnesses being prepared, after the manner of judicial proceedings, might he not have been proceeded against in form of Law? Moreover, if Coligni with his Dependents and Clients had conspired against the King, why must needs the rest that were innocent, so many Noble Matrons and Virgins who came thither upon the account of the Marriage, fo many great-bellied women, so many ancient persons, so many bedridden persons of both Sexes and all professions, that were ignorant of these last counsels of Coligni, be comprehended in the same guilt? To whom doth it not seem absurd and most ridiculous that Coligni should at so unseasonable a time conspire against Navar that professed the same Religion with him, and whom he had in his power for four years 'years together? Thus many did discourse, and so they 'judged, that upon the account of this fact the French Name would for a long time labour under an odium and infamy, 'and that posterity would never forget an act of se great 'unworthiness.

# Typographical Errors to be Corrected as followeth, in

He Hist. of the Massacre: Pag. 5.1.1. Burleigh, 1.7. Cosmus, p. 7.1.4. compact, p. 8.1.10. when he, 1. 36. Palace near the Louvre, p. 12.1. 1. receive, p. 13.1. 28. Antonius Marasinus Guerchius (without commas), so p. 14.1. 2. Rochus Sorbæus Prunæus, 1. 7. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, 1. 8. Moninius, 1. 26. racket, p. 18. 1. 7. your Kingdom, p. 21.1. 9. as he did, p. 28.1. 11. Cossenius, 1. 36. Atinius, 1. 37. Sarlaboux, p. 29. 1. 5. Merlin the Minister, Coligny, p. 32. 1. 32. Claromontius Marques of Renel, p. 34.1. 19. Caumontius, p. 35.1. 25. Montalbertus Roboreus, Joach. Vassorius Cunerius, Rupius, Columbarius, Velavaurius, Gervasius Barberius Francurius, p. 36.1. 15. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, 1. 32. Bellovarius, 1. 36. Dursorius Duracius, 1. 37. Gomacius & Buchavanius, p. 40.1. 36. Perionius, p. 41.1. 13. Languages, who had private seuds and contentions with Carpentar, & 1. 22. to those, 1. 30. Robiardus, p. 43. 1. 2. Sancomontius Sauromanius, 1. 3. Bricomotius, p. 53.1. 33. Meletinus, p. 57. 1. 17. Arles, where, 1. 36. suspicion of poison given, p. 58. 1. 2. Mombrunius, p. 52.1. 20. Helionorus Chabotius, p. 63.1. 11. Chabotius.

The Hift. of the Powder-Plat: Pag. 8. 1. 27. Harrington, p. 14. 1. 30.deteft, p. 15.1.21. for wikes, r. de Vic, p. 16. in marg. So on the, p. 22.1.27. dele Book entituled, 1, 29. for Provincial, r. Father General.

# NARRATION

Of that Horrible CONSTIRACY

AGAINST

# King JAMES

And the whole PARLIA MENT

O.F

# ENGLAND.

Commonly called the

### Gun-Powder TREASON:

Written in Latine by Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, Privy-Councillor to the King of France, and President of the Supream Senate of that Kingdom.

Faithfully rendred into English.

LONDON,
Printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blew Bell by FlyingHorse Court in Fleet-street. 1674.

ATRUE

# MARRATIC

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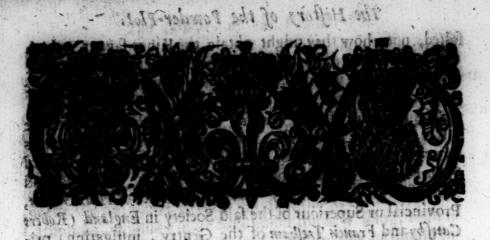
Commonly called also

### Gun-Powder TEREASON

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# The History of the Powder Plot Translated out of Thuanus, lib. 135.

VI CIDISCY.



Theke

That he bould forthwith fend an A Ow hall we in a contined Relation declare that Horrid; and bysvo smas all Parties juftly & desefted & So deteftable it feems it Conspiracy entred into a mas to some of the Students against the King of Great Rome, that being informed Britoin ; which being dif of the difcovery of the Plot, covered about the end of Sixteen of them (abborring this year [1605] was in such jugling and bloody De-

the next year impressed by figns) for sook the colledge, the next year impressed by them turning to the Church

the Death of the Conspirators. of England, whither they came. Foulis, Hift. of Popilh Treasons, li. 10.6.2. p. 692.

To the Petition for Liberty of Conscience made by the Papilts in the former Sellion of Parliament, and rejected by the King, there was a rumour there would be another preferred at the next Seffions, (which had been now often deferred) which should be in no danger of being denyed as the former. but should carry with it a necessity of being granted by the King whither he would or not. Therefore those that managed the Affairs of the Kingdom under a generous and no and the waves infpicious King, fearing nothing worfe, did make it their business to avoid such Peritions, and that necessity that did attend them. But among the Conspirators it was confulted.

fulfed, not, how they might obtain the Kings favour, whi they now despaired of a but how they might revenue the repulle, though with the raine of the Kingdom, which it

Other never thought of.

The beginning of shale Complete use to be derived from the latter end of Q. Riesabeib. For then, at appeared afterwards by proofs and contestions. Rubber 1/3 mee to whom Ofmed Telimond align Grammal, of the Society of the Fefales layand himself as his Compunion) was by the advice of Flor. Games, Provincial or Superious of the faid Society in England (Robert Gate by and Francis Treffam of the Gentry , inftigating) privately feet into Spain, in the name of the Catholicks, with Letters Commendatory to Arrbur Creswell of the same Society living in Spain, and with Commands to the King, of which this was the lumme.

Dec. 1601. Mandatis.

> That he should forthwith send an Army into England, for which the Catholicks would be ready in arms as Doon as it came over. In the mean while that he should allign yearly Pensions to some Catholick Gentlemen, Furthermore, that he should infinuate it to the King, that there were some Gentlemen and Military persons that were apprieved at the Prefent state of things, whom he might eafly draw to his Part, by relieving their necessities. And whereas the greatest difficulty, after the Landing such an Army, would be for supply of Horfes; they in England would take care to have Two thouland Horses ready provided upon all occasions.

This thing was fecretly transacted by the Mediation of Crefwell with Petrus Francefa Secretary to King Philip, and Franciscus Sandovallins Duke of Lerma, and he affirmed that the thing would be very acceptable to King Philip, and that he had offered his utmost affistance: that it was also agreed among them of the Place of Landing. For if the forces were great, then Rem and Effex would be most commodious for their. Landing; if lefs, Milford in Wales; and that King Philip had Decies centena promised by Count Miranda toward that Expedition Ten auterum CIO. hundred thousand Crowns. Stored with these promises, Winter returns into England, and acquaints Garnet, Catesby, and Treftam what he had done.

Thefe

Theft things were granfacted under O Elizabeib : who dying about this time, Christopher Wright who was privy to thefe Matters, is speedily fent into Spain, who bringing the News Mar. 1603. of the Queens Death, presseth the business of the Pensions and Sir will. Stanly. the Expedition. With him was fent from Braxells by William Seanly, Hugh Owen, and Balduinus, (one of the Society of the Fefuirs ) Guido Famper, with Letters to Crefwell that he 22 Jun. 1603. thould speed the business. To him was given in Command, that he thould fignific to the King that the Condition of the Catholicks, would be more hard under the new King, then it had been under Q. Elizabeth; and therefore that he thould by no means defift from fo laudable an Enterprize. That Milford lay open for an easie Landing to Spinola.

Bir the flace of things was changed by the death of the Queen, and King Philip returned an Answer worthy of a King, that he could no longer attend to their Petitions, for that he had sent Ambassadors into England, to treat of Peace with the

new King.

Therefore despairing of their design as to King Philip, the Conspirators fly to their last and desperate Counsels, and in the first place they make it their bufinels to fatisfie their Confriences, and that being done, they confirm their resolutions to attempt forme great Enterprize. And thur their Divines

defenutfed.

To depole Kings, to grant their Kingdoms to others, is in the power of the Supresm Judge of the Church; Bur all Hereticks being ipfo jure separated from communion of the Faithful, are every year on Holy Thursday, excommunicated Cana Domini. by the Popes And this holdeth not only in Professed Hereticks, but in those that are coverely such, because being reputed info Fure Excommunicate they do ment the (fame) Penalties, which are ipfo fatto deferved by proteffed Hereticks. From thence it follows, that Kings and other Christian Princes if they fall into Herefie may be deposed, and their Subjects discharged of their Allegiance. Nor can they recover their Right again, no, not though they should be reconciled to the Church. When it is said that the Church, the Common Mother of all, doth that her bosome against none that return

return to her, this is to be understood with a distinction, vize provided it be not to the damage or danger of the Church. For this is true as to the Soul, but not as to the

Kingdom.

Nor ought this punishment to be extended only to Princes that are thus infected, but also to their Sons, who for their Fathers Sin are excluded from Succession in the Kingdom For Herefie is a Leprosic, and an Hereditary Disease, and to speak more plainly, he loseth his Kingdom that deserteth the Roman Religion: he is to be accursed, abdicated, proscribed; neither is he, nor any of his Posterity to be restored to the Kingdom: as to his Soul, he may be absolved by the Pope only.

Thinking themselves abundantly secured within by these reasonings, they begin to seek ommand strengthenings to these Conspiracy: and chiefly Secresse, which they sealed by Consession, and the receiving of the Sacrament. To this end there was an Oath drawn up amongst them, in which they did engage their Faith by the H. Trinity and the Sacrament, which they were presently to receive, that they would neither directly nor indirectly by word or circumstance discover the Plot now to be communicated to them, nor would they desist from prosecuting it, unless allowed by their Associates.

Thus being encouraged by the Authority of their Divines, they betake themselves to the adventure (as) not only lawful & laudable, but meritorious. This was done before John Gerards of that Society.

Unto this, after Confession, by the Sacrament of the Holy Altar, were drawn in, the next May, at first five of the Conspirators, Robert Catesby, Tho. Winter, Tho. Percy, Kinsman to the E. of Northumberland, John Wright, and the aforementioned Fawkes called out of Flanders.

Cates by, the Author of this Tragedy, thought it not enough that this, or that, or any single person should be aimed at, but that all, together, and at the same time, should be comprehended in this Conspiracy.

May, 1604.]

For fo he reasoned with himself blood it in book he or aship

The King hitriels might many wayes betaken away, but this would be nothing as long as the Prince and the Duke of Tork were alive: again, if they were removed, yet this would advantage nothing so long as there remained a Parliament, so vigilant, so circumspire to whatever might happen; or if the Parliament could on their chiefs Members of it, could be destroyed, there would remainstill the Peers of the Realing so many Prudent Persons, so many powerful Earls, addicted to that Party, whom they could hardly resist, and who by their Authority, Wealth and Dependants, would be able, if occasion should be, to reflore things to their sound be level or therefore not by delayes, that at one blows all were to be symbolic to affect altogether, and at once.

At Westmisser there is an old Palace of very great Honor and Veneration for its Antiquity, in which the great Councils of the Kingdom are used to be celebrated which by a word borrowed from us, they call a Parliament. In this the King with His Male issue, the Bishops of His Bridge Councel, the Peers, the English Nobility, the Chief Magistrates; and those that are delegated from particular Counties, Cities, Towns, and Burroughs sin short, the Men of greatest Wisdom and Counsel do meet together and a possible and Towns.

Here Carethy thoughts convenient place to execute his for long studied and digested Plot 2 and having made a Vault, and storing it with a great quantity of Gun-Powder, to involve all those together, who could not severally be taken, together with the King and His Family in the Rubbish of the same Ruines.

Therefore when he had dealt with Piercy, and he aftermany bitter complaints of the King, through impatience, broke forth into these words, 'That there was only one way left to be 'delivered from so many Evils, and that was to take the King out of the way, and to that end, as he was ready for any attempt, did freely offer his own Services Carerby, who was more cautious and curming, moderated the Gentlemans heat, and, God forbid, said he, that this Head of thine so 'dear's

dear to all good men should be so fruitlesty exposed to fich danger. The Bulinels may be undertaken and accomblished. yet to as that you and fuch as you are may full be preferved for further confulting for Religion and the Publick

Then he opens his delign in very plaulible words, and with like Artifice thewshim the manner how it was to be effected. Percyalizees, and preferely hires an Houle nigh to the place.

and very opportune to work his Vault,

Nov. 1604.

The Pasliament that was called the year before, was deferred till February following. Mean while , The Bates , Catenbu's Servanni la dentrous Fellow, and one in whom his Mafter did much confide; being leaft he should suspect any thing , taken into the privity of the Fadt, when we first he feemed to be moved at the horridness of the thing, he is fent to Telmund alias Greenwell, they those men, that they might the bester be undiscovered, went under two Names, Sometimes under three) by whom he was perfiveded, and firengely continued to the Enecation of the defignt, being made featible of the Meritosioninels of the work. Afterwards Robers Rever and ster him Ambrofe Rockwood, and John Grann were taken into the Plot. Iti Eid, Mbr. the Vault was begun, Chriftopher Winble, and a little after Robert Winner being alforaken into the Society.

The work being often intermitted and aften repeated, as length the Vaulowas brought to the Walt of the Court, where a new difficulty arifeth from the biardness of the Wall and the thickness of three Ells ; for that under a long time the work could not be finished, and there were now but a few days to

the ficting of the Parliament. I ald has and a

And now the pertinacious industry of the Workmen had almost beat its way through the middle of the Walt, and they feemed net for much to want good minds (to the work) as time, when as the Parliament was put off till the Month of Odlober. Then was Defpair turned into foy, with certain confidence that they thould effect their delign ; and it was observed that whiles they briskly beat upon the Wall, where was a noise heard upon the other fide of the Walke Thicker Panks is fent to enquire out the cause. He brings word back that there .

Dec. II.

there was a Cellar under Ground, from whence they were removing Cole, he beinft lately Dead who had hired that Cellar for his own use. Therefore the Confpirators thinking that Cellar more commodious, by the help of Pierry, let out their other Houses, and bring all their Materials & hopesinto this Such was the opportunences of the place (for it was almost directly under the Royal Throne), that to leafonable an accident did make them perswade themselves, that God did by a feeret Conduct favour their Attempt. These things happened about the Feast of Easter. The Gun-powder is at their leafure carried into the Cellar from Case by a House over against the Palace, where it had been with great care and difference brought together; First, Twenty Barrels are layed in and covered with Billets and Faggots.

Then the Conspirators being sure of the good event, began to consult what was to be done after they had effected their Plot: First, they consider d of taking the Prince, who about that time, they came to understand, would not come to the Pauliament with his Father, contrary to what they concluded in the beginning, and against him they plotted destruction, as one that was no Friend of theirs, and they had found out a

way for it.

The next care was for Supplies of Money, concerning which shey thought they had sufficiently provided. They had also provided that the Peers and Gentry addited to Popery, should, as much as might be, be exempt from danger. Lastly, they debated concerning calling in Forreign Princes to their assistance; but being doubtful of their taith and secretic, they thought hit not to send to them till they had accomplished their design; for commonly such Actions are not commended but by their Event.

They passed their Judgments upon them severally, the Spaniards seemed to be more opportune for them, but too remote, and too slow in raising Forces. The Franch was near, but seasful and suspected for the close league he held with the Dutch. The most present help was from Flanders, from whence they might most commodiously expect Supplies; for which

Seanly was designed the Captain or Commander.

Moreover,

Moreover, that they might the more eafily deceive the world, and least by their palling to and fro to those places they should give some cause of Suspition, they to their several mayer; some into the Countrey, some a great way out of the Island, waiting for the time appointed for the Execution. Fewks went into Flanders that he might acquaint Stanly and Owes with the whole Matter, nor did he return into England till the latter end of August

Catesby, that he might not be idle in the mean time, gets Francis Tresham and Everard Digby to his Party, agreeing with them for Supply of Money, and the former promised Two thousand pounds of English Money, the other Fifteen hundred. Piercy, that was prodigal at another mans charge, promiled whatfoever he could scrape together of the Revenues of

the E. of Northumberland.

In the mean time, Ten more Barrels of Gun powder are added to the former, and four more greater than the reft upon fulpition, leaft by the moistness of the place, the former should have been spoiled; and again, they are all covered over

with a great heap of flones and wood

And now the time of the Parliaments convening drew on which was again put off till the Nones of November. Therefore the Conspirators did again repeat their consultation, and fome were appointed who, on the lame, day that the Enterprize was to be Executed, thould feize upon the Lady Efizabeth (the Kings eldest Daughter, who was brought up under the Lord Farrington in Warwick (bire) under pretence of an Hunting Match, which Everard Digby, who was privy to the matter, had appointed with great preparation at Dunchareb. they decreed publickly to Proclaim Oucen.

They taking to themselves the Titles of the Affectors of liberty; did nothing less at first than profess themselves the \* They purposed Authors of the Fact, or make any mention of Religion to the was fult given People, but purposed to hold that in suspense for some time. -- but the fuccess and by a Proglamation published in the Queens name to redress thereof doubtful, great grievances for the prefent, and feed them with hopes of to father thefact more for the future, eill the Faction growing frong, either by Fuller v. Fou- favour or severity of new Edices, they might draw the People

when the blow lis. p. 690.

S Nov.

to their Parts and Obedience; and the odiousness of their fact so by degrees discovering it self would in time, and together

with their good fuccels grow off.

Nor came it in so long time into the minds of any of them how many Innocents all about them, how many Infants, how many that agreed with them in Religion, how many who perhaps had deserved well of them that vast ruine would over-whelm.

Now all things are ready, and the last Scene was going to be Acted, when as by the unsearchable Judgment of God, one who desired to save another, brought destruction both to himself and his Associates.

There were ten dayes to the Parliament, when upon Saturday in the Evening a Letter was brought as from a Friend to the Lord Monteagle, but by whom written, is uncertain, and by whom brought unknown. By it he was warned to forbear meeting at the Parliament for the two first dayes of the Session; forasmuch as some great, and sudden, and unsuspected mischief did threaten that Meeting.

The hand of him that wrote it was unknown, and the writing it felf purposely so ordered, that it could hardly be read. No date to the Letter, no subscription, no inscription put to it, and the whole composure of words ambiguous.

The Lord Monteagle was doubtful what he should do; therefore late in the night he goeth to Robert Cecil Earl of Salinbury, and chief Secretary to the King, and giving him the Letter, freely declared to him how he came by it, and how little he valued it. Cecil did not make much more account of it, and yet thought it was not altogether to be neglected; and Therefore shewed it to the chief Councellors, Charles Howard, Chief Admiral of the Seas, the Earl of Nortingham, to the Earls of Worcester, and Northampton.

The thing being confidered of amongst them, although at first sight the Letter seemed of no great moment; yet they thought that not the slightest discovery ought to be despised, especially where the safety of the King was endangered, nor such great care to be blamed in them, to whom the preservation of

His Majesty did both by Office and Duty belong.

C

The King was then gone to Royston, to Hunt. It seemed good to them to determine nothing before they had consulted the King. For they said that they had oftentimes experienced the quick apprehension, and happy conjecture of the King in unriddleing things that were liable to greatest doubtfulness.

Upon the Calends of November, the King returned to the City, and forth with Cecil taking him aside, unfolds the matter, and shews him the Letter, which it seems worth while to insert here for the perpetual remembrance of it; forasmuch as not without cause it afforded such matter of dispute between

him and his Councellors.

'The love which I bear to some of your Friends makes me careful for your safety. Wherefore I advise you, as you slove your life, that you would invent some excuse for your absence from the Parliament. For God and Men, as it were by agreement do hasten to punish the wickedness of this Age. Do not make light of this warning, but depart as soon as you can into your own Countrey, where you may securely expect the event. For although no signs of troubles do appear, yet I admonish you, that that meeting shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smittent them. Do not despise this discovery, it may be profitable to you, it cannot hurt you. For the danger is over as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope by the grace of God you will make good sufe of this Counsell, to whose protection I commend you.

The King having read the Letter (though through the generousness of his mind, he was no way prone to suspicion) did conjecture that some strange thing did lye hid under it, and that the notice given, was by no means to be neglected.

On the other fide, Cecil said, it was certainly written by some Mad man: For no man well in his wits would speak at this rate of a danger which he doth admonish so much to beware of. The danger is over as soon as you shall burn the Letter. How small a danger could that be which should vanish in so short a moment.

On the other side the King, in whose breast the first suspition had now taken deep root, urged the foregoing words, That affembly shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smiteth

I. Nav.

(miteth them. And whiles walking in the Gallery he deeply thought of these things from one particular to another, it came into his mind that a fudden blow by Gun-powder was intended by those words: For what more sudden then a blow

by Gun-powder?

Thus the King and Salinbury fo broke off their discourse, that the King did strongly persevere in his conjecture. Salisbury to free the Kings mind from fears and cares feemed in his prefence to make light of this notice given; but in the mean time admiring within himfelf the Kings uncouth and unufual interpretation, and so presently suspecting it, did conclude, that

it was not lightly to be regarded.

The next day the thing being again considered of by the King, and His Counsellors, it seemed good that the Palace with the places near adjoyning, should be diligently searched, and that bufinels was alligned to the Lord Chamberlain, who upon the Monday which preceded the Parliament, about the Evening, that he might give no occation of Rumours, goes with the Lord Monteagle to those places : entring into the house that Percy had hired, they found a great heap of Billets and Fagots and Coal in a Vault under ground; and Wineard the Keeper of the Kings bouses being there present, he was Wardrobe. asked for what use they were brought in thither? they underflood that the house was hired by Percy, and that heap was brought in by him.

Moreover the Chamberlain spying Famks standing in a corner of the Cellar, asked who he was, and what bufinels he had there? Who answered, that he was the Domestick Servant of Percy, and the Keeper of that house in Percy's absence.

Having thus done, they return to the Court, reporting what they had feen, and conjecturing work things then formerly they had done. For it came into Monteagles mind upon the mention of Percy, that he was highly addicted to the Popish Religion, that they had formerly been acquainted, and lived as Friends, and it might be that he was the Author of that Letter which gave ground to all this suspition.

The Lord Chamberlain among other suspicious matters, did revolve in his mind, that that store of wood in the house of

Percy

Percy, where he seldom resided, was not brought in thither to no purpose, and that that Servant of Percy whom he saw in the

Cellar, looked like a desperate, wicked Knave.

All which things did increase the Kings suspition, who would have that Vault further searched again; but least if nothing were found, the Counsellors should make themselves ridiculous to the People, as if they were asraid of every light report; and moreover, fearing, least whiles they appeared to suspect Percy, who was allied in Blood to the chiefest Peers of the Realm, they should seem to suspect the Earl of Northumberland himself: yet when the safety of the King did prevail upon them, they so ordered the matter, that search should be made without noise or injury to any.

It was given in command to Sir Thomas Knevet, Justice of Peace for West minster, that in the dead of the Night he should go with a convenient company to that house, and should take Wineard a long with him, under pretence that he had lost

some Hangings and Tapestry.

Thither Sir Tho. Kneves going, finds Fawks, Percy's Domeflick Servant, who under a feigned name called himself John Johnson, before the House booted and habited for a Journey; and he gives command presently to lay hold on him. From thence going into the Cellar, he speedily removes the Wood and Coal, which being removed, the Treason appeared, one little Barrel of Gun-powder being first discovered by it self, and afterward the heap being removed 36 Barrels of different magnitude were found there.

Then turning to the Prisoner, and examining his Garments they found in them tinder, and three Match cords.

But he being taken in the Fact, and not able to deny, the case being now desperate, he of his own accord confessed the Crime, and with an unappalled countenance (as he was a man of a resolute mind to undertake any desperate attempt) he added, that it was well for them that they found him before the house, now lately come out of the Cellar, in which all things were ready: for if they had found him within, he would not have stood to have buried himself and them together, by putting fire to the Train.

Knevet having discovered the matter, returns forthwith rejoicing to the Palace, about Four a Clock in the Morning, and
acquaints Salisbury and the Lord Chamberlain; who presently
with a noise rush into the Kings Bed Chamber, and tell him
the Treason was detected, and they had the Author of it in Custody and Bonds.

The fame of this being spread abroad, for in so great a matter of Joy it could not be concealed, the Conspirators fly some this way, some that way, and meet together at Holbech at the house of Stephen Littleton, in the borders of Stafford-

Bire.

Thither came those that were privy to the Conspiracy out of Warwick shire and Worcester-shire; although they were ignorant of the discovery of the Plot, having taken away by force from Gentlemens houses their Warr-horses; thereby giving a manifest token what they would have done when they had got the power in their hands, when as they ravaged with such

boldness, while the event was yet doubtful.

The Leaders of the Faction trusted that great numbers of Men, and a confiderable Army would flock into them, as soon as they should appear in Arms. But the Lieutenants and Sheriffs being before, while the Treason was only suspected, Commanded by the King to ride about their Counties, their attempts were all made void, and scarcely an Hundred of all that number appeared in Arms. And they were encompassed by Richard Walsh, High Sheriff of the County of Worcester, who came upon them unexpectedly with a strong power of Men, so that they could not escape.

When despairing of Pardon, and their troubled Consciences putting them, upon desperate exploits, the Gun-powder that was drying by the Fire, took fire by a sparkle that fell into it, and so suddenly burnt the Faces, Sides, Arms, Hands of the Besieged, that they were rendered unable to handle their Arms,

and so lost their strength and courage together.

Tho. Winter, while they betake themselves to a corner of the house, are both shot through with a Leaden Buller. Winter being wounded, sell into the hands of the Kings Party, both

were taken Prisoners. Tresham whiles thisting his Lodgings in London, he sometime escaped, yet at last was taken. Robert Winter and Littleton a long time wandring up and down the Woods, at last fell into the hands of the Guards, and were all

committed to the Tower at London.

Being Examined without the rack, (for only Fanks was put under this way of Examination, and that but moderately) they severally discovered the whole series of the matter as we have before recounted, and taxed none in Holy Orders, which many looked upon as purposely avoided, because they were bound by Oath not to do it. When as Francis Tressum had before he dyed in Prison of his own accord nominated Henry Garnet, being admonished thereof by his Wife he wrote a Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, and excusing his too rash consession, he so discharged Garnet as much as in him lay by a soleton adjuration interposed, that he did entangle him-self in a notorious like affirming to that he had not seen Garnet

† He took it self in a notorious lye, affirming + that he had not seen Garnet upon his Salva- of fixteen years; when as it did appear afterward by the contion, even in session of Garnet \* that they had often and for a long time articulo mor- together conversed one with another, before the fix Moneths

tis, (a lamentable thing) for last past.

within three hours after he dyed. Proceedings against the late Traitors. C c 2, 3. \* And of Mrs. Anne Vaux, who confessed that she had seen Mr. Tresham with Garnet at her house three or four times since the Kings coming in; and that they were at Erich together the last Summer, and that Garnet and she were not long since with Mr. Tresham at his bouse in Northampton-shire, and sayed there. Proceedings, ibid.

CIOTOCVI. Digby confessing the matter as it was in truth endeavoured the sought to to excuse the horridness of the Fact, which he acknowledged clear all the fe- and seemed to detect, by the desperateness of their condition: suits of those For being made to hope that the new King, upon his coming to they themselves the Kingdom, would indulge liberty of Conscience to those of the have now con-Popish Religion, and would permit the exercise thereof with seemed ex ore some restriction; This being denyed, it drove those uniterable proprio. Promen unadvisedly to permicious Counsels.

Even at the time of Garners Tryal was corrent throughout the Town a report of a Retractation

under Bates bis hand, of his accusation of Greenwell. Proceedings, ibid.

Here the Earl of Northampton and Cecil, (who together with the Earl of Nortingham, Suffelk, Wercefter, and Devenshire, did fit as Judges in that Caule) interposed, affirming that the King never gave them any hope of liberty, nor ever engaged his word for it; but factious persons did maliciously throw such a report abroad, that they might have a pretence wherewith to excuse both themselves, and such as they were, for the Sedicions which they raised in the Kingdom.

At length being Convicted and found Guilty, they are condemned to the punishment wont to be inflicted by the

Laws of the Realm upon Rebels and Traytors.

Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates were Executed at London, night the Western Gate of St. Paul's Church in the later end of January. The day sollowing, Tho. Winter, Ambrose Rockwood, Robert Keier, and Guido Fawks, who consessed that they had wrought in the Vault, were Executed at Westmonaster in the Old Palace yard near the Parliament house.

Upon this many, who for this cause were banished, or of their own accord changed their Native Soil, were most courteously received at Calice, by Dominick Wikes, the Governour Vicus.

there; for fo the King commanded.

Of whom one was of such a perverse mind that when Wikes did shew himself to bewail his and his Companions fortune, and for their comfort added, Though they had lost their Native Countrey, yet by the Kings grace they had a Neighbouring one allowed them. Nay, saith the other, It is the least part of our grief, that we are banished our Native Countrey, and that we are forced to change our Soil, because every good man counts that his Countrey where he can be well; this doth truly and heartily grieve us, that we could not bring so generous and wholsom a design to perfection.

Which as soon as Views contrary to his expectation, had heard he could hardly for anger abstain from throwing that man into the Sea, who gloryed in such a Plot as was damned by all men. For so I remember I have heard Views often say, when together with Alexander Delbenius, he came courteously upon the account of our Ancient friendship to visit me, a little

before he went from us.

good & faith-received into Heaven.

The Plot being discovered, the Parliament among publick rejoycings was held with great security. To whom the King made a most weighty Oration, and set forth the inexpressible Mercy of God over all his works, towards Himself, his Family, and His whole Kingdom, largely aggravating the thing from its several circumstances. This temperament being with great And this con-Justice added, That he did not say, All that were addicted to the clusion with no Romish Religion were to be included as guilty of this Crime: as upon the for that there were many among them, who although they are one part many involved in Popish Errors (so be called them) yet had they not lost honest men, their true Loyalty to Princes, but did observe the Duty both of a seduced with Christian man, and of a good Subject; and that he in return had some errors of Christian man, and of a good Subject; and that he in return had Popery, may good thoughts of them: and that he thought the Severity of the

ful Subjects:
So as on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole ground, and School conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians or faithful Subjects. He bad said a little before, That many honest men blinded peradventure with some opinions of Popery, yet do they either not know, or at least not believe all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the mysterie of Iniquity.

yet remaine Puritans was worthy of flames, who deny that any Papift can be

This likewise was worthy the Wisdom of a most just Prince, that he did Judge that no Forreign Prince nor Commonwealth, nor none that did manage affairs for them had any hand in this Conspiracy, as who did judg of them according to his own mind and temper, and would think of others what he would that they should think of him.

Therefore he did will and require, that when any mention should be made of this Conspiracy in Parliament, every one should speak and think honourably of them. Which thing was done for the respect that he bore to the Spaniards, with whom desiring to keep that peace which he of late made with them, he would not leave any the least appearance of an alienated affection, or a suspicious mind.

He added this most generously, That, be would that all men should understand, that resting in Gods protection, the tranquility and quiet of his mind was not at all disturbed by this accident, and that he did wish that his breast were transparent to all, that his People might behold the most fecret recesses of bis

But when he judged it might conduce much to Example and Publick Security, that he should severely punish the Authors of so horrid a Crime, and because there was a suspition arifing from Betters, Confessions and Proofs made that Garand alias Brak, Hen! Garnet, Ofwald Telmond alias Greenwell were either privy to, or promoters of this Conspiracy therefore upon the XVIII. of the Kalends of February, a Proclamation 14 7an. is published against them, and a reward proposed to him that should discover and bring them to their Tryal, as also a Penalty added against those who after the publishing of this Proclamation should entertain, nourish, conceal, or be any way aiding the persons named in that Proclamation, or should at all indeavour that those who are accused of this horrid Crime should not be found out and apprehended.

In order hereunto diligent feareb is made, and firid enquiry after them, who concealed themselves; at length Hen. Garnet and --- Hall and Garnets Servant Were taken in the house of Abington a Papilt, and sent to London, and cast into the Tower. The wretched Servant for fear least he I should be forced by torments to accuse his Master, or despairing upon some other account, did lay violent hands upon himfelf in the Prison, and with a blunt knife (for he was not permitted to have a keen one by him) he cut up his own Belly. and drew out his Bowels: and although his wound was bound up yet before he could be Examined, he dyed.

Garnet was very gently used in his Imprisonment, as he him-

felf afterward confessed.

At first be denyed all things; and when it did appear that nothing could be drawn from him voluntarily, and the King that he might avoid calumny was unwilling to use torments upon him, resolves by crast to illude his cautious pertinacy, and to bring him to larger Confessions (who would answer little or nothing) whether be would or not

He fecretly imploys a man, who by deep groans, and frequent complaints against the King, and his Counsellors,

and the deplorable condition of the Catholicks in England, did in the end persuade Gernes that he was Popishly enclined, and so crept into intimate familiarity with him. This man he sends with a Letter to a Gentlewomen, that was Imprisoned for her Religion, who kept her family at Whitnest and other places, and received with great hospitality those whom he commended to her. In which Letter he wrote plainly, and yet sparingly: what things he had already confessed, what he was not yet examined upon, and by what means he would excuse those things (which he had confessed) and conceal these.

He wrote likewife to Rookwood the Prieft, who was Prisoner in another Prison, and wrote his Better with Ink in the middle, about some samiliar matters that any one might read, hut left broad Margents on both sides, which he silled with his Secrets, written with the judge of an Orange, denying all what-soever he had consessed before the Lords. As to the Spanish Expedition, he said he had obtained the Kings Pardon. As to this last Conspiracy he should avoid Judgment, because he knew they could make no sufficient proofs against him. But however it went, he added, having too high an opinion of himself, that which was spoken of the only Redeemer of the world, It would be necessary that one man should die for the People.

The letter was by the Kings Councellors, who finelt out-

near'd, and the fraud was discovered.

He being every day more and more confident of his influenced Keeper, told him he did exceedingly defire to have force conference with Hall, his Companion. He promised to bring it about, and brought both of them to a place where they might easily hear one another, and where he himself to avoid all suspicion might be seen by them both. In the mean time, be placed two men of known credit near the place who sthey knowing no such thing, and minding only the return of their Keeper who was gone abroad) might hear whatsoever patied between them. There each of them freely discovered what they had confessed, what they had been Examined about, what excuses and evasions (for these were their words) they.

had

and prepared for every particular, and many other fuch things, which being carefully taken; were delivered to the Countel in The nest day (the Priforers Salpecting to fuch thing) Delegates from the King came to them, and Examine Garnes and Hall a part, and object to them that they had reflerday held private conference with one snother

denyed it, and fortwore it upon the word of a Prieft. bell reiterating it

At laft, Hall having confessed the Fact, and he finding that with fo many there was no avoiding it, begged Pardon for his contrary affe- crations, as veration which he fought to elevate by a forced Interpretation wounded the or Equivocation. And profeshing that he would speak the Lords bearts to fruth ingenuously. He answered; that be bed bitbered fo con-bear bim. Pro-family danged it, because be been shar no man (living) but one, ceedings, Y 3. (be medet Grecowell, could accuse bim as quilty of the late Fall. But now shas be fam bemfelf encompaffed with fuch a cloud of wineses, be would no longer diffemble, but did confest shar above V moneths agone be was acquainted by Greenwell with the whole master. That before that, Catesby had in general told bim that the Catholich in England were attempting me great shing as to Religion, and arked tobesher if good men foodld be involved in the danger, this were to be made matter of Confrience. But that be; who but a contrary command from she Pope ; that he fould not engage in any Confpiracy refused to bear any further of it. That he did pour out Prayers for the good sweets of the great confe, and brough other things, used the Hyun that was commonly Sung in the Church, but intended nothing elfe when be did fo, but only prayed God that in the next Parliament no grievous Lames might be made againft the Recu-Same to they are called in England, who keeping within their own houses, have their liberty and setule to Joyne in worthip with the Protestants.

deteftable ext-

Gornet being ementy simes Examined, between the Eide of TE Feb. and Febr. and the VII of the Calends of April, two dayes after he 26 Mar. is arreigned at the Publick Tribunal in London: [Guild Hall.] whereof the Earl

Here the Crimes are layed to the charge of the Priloner, by of Salisbury de-Sir John Crook, which are afterwards enlarged on in a long clared at bis Speech by Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Attorney General, Tryal. See the

. President

Then after Garnethad faid formething for himself, and especially fomething concerning Equipocation, herwas Hamined by Geril and others, that face as Judges in that cafe. And laffly, the Earl of Northampton made a long and claborate defenuels against him, in which he largely handled the Authority which the Popes, asseggee to themselves of deposing Princes, and discussed that Chapter of Non fanctorum, the ground, as he said At length Sentence in a Cod by the Land Clare T. C.

At length Semence is paffed by the Lord Chief Juftice of the Kings Rench, that Garnet should be Drawn, Hanged, and

Quartered How and han until him bok.

Hir Fled for biroself was only this, that alshough he did a long time before know of the Conspiracy, by common fame and Rumours, (for Greenwell only informed him of all the particulars; but under the Seal of Confession, by the Laws of which he was forbidden to discover it to any man fiving); yet that he did admonish Greenwell to defist from the Race which he did very much disapprove of and to hinder or hers engaged in Confeience on privity in B. set with mid hist land to

> Here Cecill leverely reproved bim; For, faid he if he did disapprove of the Fact, why did he afford Greenvell the benefit of Absolution before he had by his penitence given tellimony that he did truly and from his heart desert the Fict Enrihermore when as he under flood the marten from Cuerby; where there was no Seal of Confession, this was sufficient to have made a discovery of the Plot if he had so highly abhorred

> it as he did pretend. Cart only Bres more unit elle unden be did f But there were other things that lay heavy upon his charge? and theferchiefly which were amongst bis Confessions, written with his own hand and fent to the King, vis. of That Greenwell did acquaint him with this not as with a fin he had to confessy but as an Act which he well enough understood and in which

he required his advice and counsel and all V and and and

That Caresby and Greenwell came to him to require his be refulved among them. That Telmunder for to he was now called, who e'rewhile was Greenwelt) and he, did nor long agone confult together in Effex of the Particulars of this 'Conspiracy. Conspiracy Lastly, when Greenwell asked who should be Protector of the Kingdom in Garnet answered, that that answer ought to be deferred till they saw how things should go.

did make it appear that he knew of the Conspiracy otherwise then by the way of Confession, all that he answered was, that what sever he had signed with his own hand, was true.

Being brought to Execution the Third of May being Invention orneis [Holy rood day] he faid, 'he came thither that day to find an end at length of all the croffes that he had born in this life; that none were ignorant of the cause of his punishment; that he had sinned against the King in convealing it; that he was forzy for it, and humbly begged the Kings Pardon a that the Plottagainst the King and Kingdom was bloody, and which if it had taken effect he should have detested with all his heart, and that so horrid and inhumance a Each should he attempted by Catholicks, was that that grieved him more then his death. Then heladded many things in defence of Anne Vaice, who was held in Prison, and lay under great suspicion, upon his account.

Being accused that he had while Q. Eliz; was alive received of certain Brever from Rome, in which he and the Peers v. Phocadings, a inclined to Popery were addiomined that miserable woman should bappen to die it they should admit of no Reinge, bow nearly soever related in blood, but such as should not only tole rate the Catholick Faith, but by all means promote it; he said, he said burnt them, the King being received for King. And when howas again Examined upon the same things, the research of the same things the ferred Henry Montaine who lasked him about it, it is his Gon. The Research of sethous subscribed by him.

Being taxed for fending Edmind Bainham to Rame, not to return to the City before the Plat should take effect; This he thus excused as if he had not sens him upon that account but the himight inform the Rope of the calamitous stare of Engine Land, and consult with him what course the Casholicks should we

take; and therefore referred them again to his Confessions,

Then

Then he kneeled down upon the Stage to bis Prayers, and looking about hither and thither, did feem to be diffressed for the loss of his life, and to hope a Pardon would be brought him from the most merciful Prince : Montacute admonished him that he should no longer think of life, but if he knew of any Treachery against the King or Kingdom, that he should as a dying man presently discover it; for that it was now no time to Equivocate. At which words Garnes being fornewhat moved, made answer, "that he knew the time did not admit of Equipocation; that how far and when it is lawful to Equivocate he had other where delivered his opinion, that now he did not equivocate, and that he knew nothing but what he had confessed. Then he excused himself that he did at first diffemble before the Lords; That he did so because he did not think they had had fuch testimony and proof against him; till they did produce it; which when they did produce, he thought it as honourable for him to confess, as it would have been at first to have accorded himself. He added many things to excuse Greenwell, professing that unless hie thought he were out of danger, he would not have discovered the guile of his dear Brother in this Conspiracy. Then praying that the "He faid alfo, " Catholicks in England might not fare the worfe upon his actexberteben all count, he croffed bingelf, and after he had commended his Soul-

logia, edit.

they enter not into any Trea. In his behalf Andreas Endamon Johannes a Grenian, of the fons, Rebellions, fame Society, wrote an + Apology, in answer to Sir Edw. Cokes or infurrettions (Book Intituled) Attio in Prodicores, (for fo much the Title against the King. doth imply) published sour years after, and approved by Robert Abbot Clauding Aquaviva Provincial of the Society, in which chiefly wrote his Anti- the Doctrine of Equivocation is defended and explained from Scripmre, Fathers, Schoolmen, and Thomists; and the ne-Lond. 1613. 4 cellity and matter of the Seal of Secrefie or Confession is debated, and the chief beads of his Aconfasion are enforced; the Speech of the Earl of Northampton is refuted. Moreover he doth endeavour to evince that Garnes never knew any thing of the Confpiracy but by she way of Confession; and that he did always abhor the Treason,

Then forme things are related of bis Confrancy at his Death which are not related in the History of it. And as a conclusion of his Commentary, there is the memorable Story of the Strate upon which the Efficies of the Dead was leen, at which he faith his Advertaries were very much diffushed.

Whiles the Body was quartered by the Hangman, forme drops of blood fell upon the Straw that was there provided to light the fire. Jobs Wilkinson who was there pretent, that he might gasher forme relique of the Body of Garnes, carried home with him an Ear, that was sprinkled with blood, and deposited it with a Gentlewoman, who kept it with great veneration in Hu. a Christal-glass. Afterward at was observed with great admiration, that the Essigles of Garnes was plainly expressed in that blood.

Then with great Zeal was the fame of the Miracle spread abroad; which others did presently clude by a contrary confiruction; saying, 'It ought to seem no wonder if a man brought up among Exiles in Flanders, improved at Rome in Italy, authorized to a Conspiracy in his own Countrey; and breathing nothing but revenge, did as long as he lived thirst after the blood of his Countreymen, should when dead deserve to be pictured in blood. So dangerous a thing it is in these corrupt times to say any thing for the honour of any man in those things which do exceed belief and the common course of Nature, which may not presently be retorted to his disparagement.

This end had sbis Conspiracy; the strangest that either our, or sormer ages do make mention of, for contrivance, daringness, or cruelty. For it is often heard of, and same doth deliver it down to posterity, that many Princes are cut off by Treachery, many Common-wealths are attempted by the snares and falshood of their Enemies; But no Countrey, no Age ever bred such a Monster of Conspiracy as this, wherein the King with the Queen, the Parents with their whole Issue, all the States of the Kingdom, the whole Kingdom it self, and in it innumerable Innocents should all be destined to one Destruction in one moment, for a Sacrifice to the lust of a sew-enraged Minds.

But

But it was very well, that that Monster, which they themselves that bear the blame of it, do both by word and writing every where detest, being so long before conceived at home, should be strangled in the birth before ever it see the light.

A little while after, Isaac Casaubon when he went into England, thinking of nothing less than to be engaged in this buliness, upon occasion of another Apology sent to him, and by him delivered to the King of Great Britain, wrote an Elegant Epistle to Fronto Duceus, in which he sheweth, that Garnet knew otherwise then under the Seal of Confession of the Powder Conspiracy, by his own Confession and Testimony written with his own hand, and doth at large discuss the Doctrine of Equivocation, as ensuring and pernicious, against the Arguments of Eudaimon-Johannes. Against which, not Duceus, but Eudaimon-Johannes doth rail sufficiently.

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recently to the anti-consister with the second addition to be produced to blood. So the early a relating it is result to be produced to be selected to be a selected to be selected to be

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### DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

# ORIGINAL

OF THE

### POVVDER-PLOT:

Together with a Relation of the

### CONSPIRACIES

AGAINST

# Queen Elizabeth

And the Persecutions of the

# PROTESTANTS

In FRANCE

To the death of Henry the Fourth.

Collected out of Thuanus, Davila, Perefix, and several other Authors of the Roman Communion;

As also Reflections upon Bellarmine's Notes of the Church, &c.

#### LONDONS

Printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blew-Bell by Flying-horse-Court in Fleet-street, 1674.

DISCOUNTE LES

CONSPIRACIES

Jueen Elizabeth

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PROTESTANTS
EFRANCE

To the death of Henry the Fourth.

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As ello Reflectione under Macming's Notes of the Court, On

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#### TO THE

# E A D E

An Account of the Occasion, Matter, Method and Manner of Writing of the Discourse annexed with the Reasons of it.

"HE Narration of the Gun-powder Treason by Thuanus being commended to me, after I bad look d into it, I persivaded a friend to translate it into English, which being done, I gave it to the Book-Seller to print, and for a Preface to it wrote the first Sect. of the Discourse, not intending any more than that : which was printed, but not all the sheets wrought off, when baving met with that notable passage of Del Rio briefly cited in a Book lately printed, and perufing the same more at large in Del Rio bimfelf. I shought it worthy of further consideration, and therefore ordered the Printer not to work off that Preface, but go on with the Translation of Thuanus, and the while wrote so much of the enfuing Discourse as concerns THE ORIGINAL OF THE POWDER-PLOT, that is to Sect. 24; (though the whole Discourse through want of timely notice to the Prister bears that Title); and that was all I then intended. But when I came to the conclusion of that part, I began to perceive that COMBINA-TION OF ROME AND SPAIN AGAINST ENGLAND. which continued all the time of Queen Elizabeths Reign, and doth not a little confirm what had been said in the former part of the Discourse : and though I thought that the former part of the Discourse did not stand much in need of confirmation from this, yet I thought it very pertinent and useful to shew that Combination in their various practices against that Queen, but as briefly as I could. This continues to Sect. 37. nor did I then intend more. But reflecting upon the admirable Providence of God in preferving that bleffed Queen from fo many and fo various attempts against ber, and in my turning over of Thuanus for the Story of the Combination having perceived something of the unhappy

#### To the Reader.

issue of ber Neighbours Persecutions of the Professors of that Reformed Religion which the bappily established and defended, I began to perceive something of that DISTINGUISHING PROVIDENCE, which is very Observable and Remarkable in the ensuing part of the Discourse to Sed. 61. Wherefore having curforily run over some of the principal parts of that Story, and Satisfied my self that it would make good what I undertook, I thought it an unworthy piece of laziness or negligence not to add that part alfo, fo pertinent, fo remarkable and necessary; but boped to have done it more briefly than I found I well could, when I again set my self to the perusal of the History. Having finished this, I made some Reflections upon the whole and thereupon added the OBSERVATIONS, Interences and the rest which make up the last part and conclusion, And this was the Occasion, this the Matter and Method of the Discourse. Now for the Manner of writing it; when I began I was wholly a stranger to the Story, and to all or most of the Books I have made use of; had never read two leaves in Thuanns, fave part of the History of the Powder-Plot; bad never feen Davila; bad only occasionally, if at all, looked into any other of the Books I have made use of. Befides being most of it written in the Countrey, and my own stock being but thort, I could not have that affiftance from variety of Books. which I defired; and yet it pleased God many things fell in my way beyond my expediation; and the Authors I have generally used are such whose Authority is beyond all exception, the incomparable Thuanus, Davila, Perefix, and others of the Roman Communion; for I have but rarely followed any Writers of the Reformed Religion, and more rarely without the concurrent authority of others. But what is most considerable, the greatest part being fent away in fingle sheets by the Post as it was written. I could neither my felf bave the perusal of the entire work together, nor have it perused by my friends before it was printed. This I mention for my excuse of such mittakes as possibly may occur in it. For I did not design to injure the Truth in any particular, nor have I to my knowledg done it in any thing material; only Sect. 12. you will meet with Lovain in Flanders, which perhaps is in Brabant, though by Flanders I then meant that part of the Low-Countries

#### To the Reader.

Countries which was then under the King of Spain or the Archdukes Obedience; and Iknow the name Flanders is used in as large a sense by many, and commonly by the Italians, and Sect. 34. pag. 48. 'tis Said, he made them amends for it afterwards, whereas that excommunication there mentioned was before, which I did not then observe when I wrote it. Again Sect. 42. pag. 74. you'l find, the D. of Tuscany [Father to the Qu: Mother ] which is a mistake; for he was of the Same F.mily, and succeeded her Brother, but was not ber Father; and therefore the Reader may either amend it, or quite strike it out. But these are such mistakes as are rarely escaped by those who write at more leisure, and are no prejudice at all'to the Stori. If any other mistake that is material shall come to my knowledge, whether by my own observation, or the information of any other, whether friend or foe, I will not fail, God willing publickly to acknowledge the same, and if this discourse shall be thought morthy of another Edition, to reform it. For I approve not the use of Piæ Fraudes, and think Lying and Slandering, as always unlawful and unworthy of a Christian; so where matters of Religion are concerned, to be prophane and facrilegious. The God of Truth is able to defend his own cause the Truth without such wicked shifts; and when he pleaseth to suffer it to be oppressed for a time; he doth with great wisdom permit it; but in the mean time allows not us to vindicate it by such indirect means whereby we do, as much as in us lyes, oppose the design and course of his Providence. Numquid Deus indiget vestro mendacio, ut pro illo loquamini dolos? Job. 13.7. But if my hast bath made me in any thing through mistake to mistrepre-Sent any actions of the Papists to their prejudice, it is likely it bath made me overlook as much more which might have beer said against them. Nor bave I thereby so much injured them, as they have injured themselves and their cause by such indirect and wicked practises as are beyond all contradiction, to the great scandal of the most Holy Christian Religion , which is that which in some places bath made my expressions more sharp than what otherwise I should have used. Nor bad it not been for that, and for the great danger I apprehend our Country to be in by their restless prosterious pra-Stifes

#### To the Readers

dices, for the discovery and prevention whereof, the discovery of their former Policies and Practices may be of good use foontd I have delighted in such an undertaking. I have otherwise no prejudice against them, and could beartily wish that all which I have written had been false; but fince it is not only too true, but we are still in danger from the same principles, though the manner and method of their operation and practice; may in some respects be altered. I cannot but think the undertaking both lawful and necessary. Nor is the bonour of Religion ever a whit secured by palliating the irreligious practices of spurious Professors; but better vindicated by publickly detecting and condemning; and, where there is a just Authority, condignly bunishing or correcting them. This is more agreeable to the will of God, and the course and methods of his Providence, who useth not to dissemble the most secret miscarriages of his dearest children, but either to detect them, and bring them to light, to the end they may be punished by the Ministers of his Fustice; or, if they, through want of knowledge, power, or fidelity, do fail therein, to do it himself by bis Divine Judgments upon the offenders, unless they prevent the same by timely and seriously judging themselves. But still it may be objected; but why such baste? If it must be published, why not upon more mature deliberation? Why not the Errata though never fo inconsiderable first corrected? and perhaps, why not the file first better smoothed and polished, and some things removed to their proper places? I answer. If we must stay till we can be seeure against all mistakes, we should have very few books ever published; but it is sufficient if we can be secure for the main, whereof I am very well satisfyed as to this work; and for the stile and ornaments. which most concern my self, they were not tanti with me, who neither undertook it, nor proceeded in it upon self-respect: but besides. I was beyond my first intention ingaged in it, and the Press was at work, and being so engaged. I endeavoured to have kept pace with it, if I could; though I had before little thoughts of ever appearing in Print, and much disliked that precipitate way of writing books, which by Fortius Ringelbergius is recommended to bis Students, and do still dislike it. unless upon special oceasion. And indeed that which was a Special special motive and incitement to me to basten it what I could, was the consideration of the forwardness, activity and busic prodices of the Popish Emissaries and Agents, and of some others influenced by them surther than they themselves are aware of, and the dangerous consequence thereof not only to the subversion of the reformed Religion, and the Scandal of Christianity it self; but also to the subversion of our Government, as the most effectival method for promoting their designs, and disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom. But these things I have tauched toward the end of the Discourse, and therefore shall add no more here, but only desire the Readers favour to correct some of the more material errors of the Press, as is here after directed, and to bear with the rest.

## Errors of the Press in the Discourse to be corrected as followeth:

Spain, for three weeks before troubled with a ner-

Age r. line to. and also l. 17. Reader) l. 18. others; yet, p. 2.1. 27. anold, p. 4. l. 26. Confessor. but, This, p. 5. l. 15. confession, p. 6.l. 1. contrivance, l. 5. nothing more, p.7.l. 1, and p. 8.l. 32. Machinations, p. 9. l. 2. Broccard l. 4. Turk l. 8. dele (Camden 1600. p. 769. ) and put it in the Margin at lin. 10. l. 27. 4. Nor p. 12. 1.31. We may again, p. 13. l. 1. that we find, p. 14. l. 22. Ducaus 1. 23. 7. Non. Jul p. 15. 1. 32. Sande, 1. 33.c.2. fub-fin, p. 19. 1.25. Incendiaries, p. 20.1.20. Care, l. 22.1.in, p.25.1.27. Wilton, 1.29. certainly, 1.32. Lopez, p. 27.1.33. but the fame, p. 29.1.9. for Pincia read Villadolit, p.30.1.13 p 31.1.10. p.32.1.16. Ridolph, p.31. 1.15. faillir,p. 32.1.17.p.35 1.6.p.46.1.27. aureos, p. 33. 1. 16. Lord Darnly, p. 36. in marg. Collect. of the Felicities of Qu. Eliz. p. 40. l. 25. Creighton, p. 50.1.31. Lopez (with bis complices) Cullen, p. 52. l. 22. Fitz-Girald, then to John Fitz-Girald, and lastly, p. 59.33. same time that, p. 60.1.5. with whom, p. 61.1.9. du Bourg, p. 62.1.23. Olivier, p. 67.1.36. Ediet of July, p.71.1.27. Sect.42. For, p. 72,1.12. Legates, p.73.1.4. whiles, ir, p.74.l.2. Valois, who, l.5. secret, p. 75. l.2. contrived, l. 34. Reseripts, p. 80.l.34. And with, p.82. l.2. This done, away goes, l. 26. detested, p.82.1 6. Marchands, 1.21. Telinius, p.86.1.10. way defigned, p.90.1.2. with the, p. 94. 1.8. bewrayed, 1.19. detefted, p.95. 1. 3. as did, 1. 13. that than that never, p.96.1.27. exagitates, p.97. 1.23. Superfittion, ibid. Successor, 1. 30. for obduration r. obercation, p.98. 1.9.600, or 700, p 102. L.16. and p. 103.1.10. Sancerre, p. 103. L.19. Talar, l. 20, others

1. 35. a Fift Civil War, p. 110.1.26. reasons he gave him, put him in mind, p. 111 l. 11. concourse, l. 38. instructed, p. 112.1.24. Lords, p. 114.1.32. Vincennes, p. 120.1.22. dele not, p. 122. l. 19. Aumale, at Senlis, p. 123. l. 7. unexpected, ibid. in marg. mensibus, l. 33. line, p. 124. l. 17. give, p. 126. l. a. man, l. 15, 16. in the exit, p. 128. l. 2. inexorable, p. 119.1.37. lbe esta slished, p. 130.1.19. the Guises, p. 133. l. 17. dele of, l. ult. drawn of, p. 134. l. 6. impostures, l. 9. 11. Landrianus, p. 136. l. 26. an adsciritious, p. 138. l. 33. incentors, p. 139. l. 2. instant stooping, p. 141. l. 22. that in places, p. 145. l. 4. Evaristus, l. 5. Aquaviva, p. 147. l. 10. 15. Commoler, p. 148. l. 34. which yet the Pope contends is, p. 154. l. 27. from doing it. p. 155. l. 3. Aquaviva, p. 156. l. 8. which as, p. 158. l. 1. party; rouches, l. 18. conseil, p. 159. l. 14. p. 160. l. 8. 14.29. p. 161. l. 14. Ridigore, p. 161. l. 1. Clement, l. 10. conseison, l. 37. Sarta, p. 162. l. 25. Balth, p. 168. l. 27. terror, p. 172. l. 7. in hand, p. 175. l. 14. or, as some say, decree and command of, p. 1772. l. 12. Kuesan dosan, p. 181. l. 25. all fincere Christians.

Pag. 10. 1.12. — to conceive. Or rather being more particular fecrets, and more worthy of observation, they are reserved for private conference with his Majesty, as not sit to be committed to paper; as he saith, c. 27. Sub fin.

Pag. 57. l. 2. --- Spain, for three weeks before troubled with a perpetual flux of blood through all the passages of his body, (Perefix p. 163) and at last, if not----

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## A Discourse concerning the Original of the Powder Plot.

Seci. 1. A Lithough several Relations of this Conspiracy have been long fince written and published in English, both by several writers of the History of those times and others who have inserted thesame among other Historical Relations.

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tions, as Storp in his Annals, pag. 874. Speed in his Hiltory of Great Britain, 1. 10. f. 31. -- The Appendix to the Book of Martyrs Fuller in his Church History, Bishop Carleton in his Historical Collection of Deliverances, and of late by Mr. Foulis in his History of Popish Treasons, lib. 10. cap. 2. And also alone, as King James his Discourse of the manner of the Discovery of the Powder Treason, Printed in quarto, 1605. but without his name to it, and fince in his works 1616, pag. 223. and the Proceedings against the late Traitors, Printed in quarto, 1606. ( whereof neither is more than what the title doth import, and the latter inlarged with long Speeches, which possibly may seem tedious to the Reader, and it may be some others; (yet because many (as well for the rare and admirable contrivance and discovery of the Plot, as because we are all obliged to the Annual Commemoration of it ) may be defirous to read some Relation of it, who yet may not be willing to purchase those larger works, and those Relations of it which have been Printed alone, being now long fince out of Print and therefore rarely to be met with: It was thought convenient to publish this Translation out of Thuanus, rather than to reprint any of the other; and that for thefe Reafons: 1. Because it seems to be more complease than most or any one of the other Relations, which have yet been Printed in English,

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whether alone or incidentally in larger works. 2. But especially, in respect of the Great Authority of the Author, a perfon, not only of great Quality and Place in his Country; Privy Counsellor to the King of France and President of the Supreme Senate of that Kingdom, but of known and confessed Candor Impartiality Faithfalness and Exactness, as an Historian. And being one who lived and eyed a Carbolick in the Communion of the Church of Rome, his Authority hath in that respect some advantage above any of the other Relations. which have been written by any of the Reformed party: which of it felf may be fufficient to refute the impudence and vanity of all fuch as would have had the world believe that it was the contrivance either of the \* Puritans, (V. Speed \* This bloudy defign, found Sed. 48. Wilfons History of King James, pag. 32. Foulis pag. in the hands of 690.) or of Cecil the then Secretary, to draw those unhappy Gentlemen into it. (V. Foulis, pag. 694. The Papills Apol. answered pag. 31 -- 33. edit. 1667.) the contrary whereof father'd upon may eafily be perceived in the series of this Relation, And indeed the first of these projects was extinguished almost with the plot; and the other hath been long fince sufficiently difthe burning of Rome upon the proved, and the plot it felf confessed by some, and defended. Christians) by magnified, and gloried in by others of that party, and now scarce denyed by any to have been of their own contrivance; fo dent and cunthat more need not now be faid as to that particular, though ning Jeluits ---Which, some the following considerations, if need were, might be made use of in that respect.

had opportunity at Bruges in Flanders, to make westen, and old Jesuit, active in the Powder plot, ingenuously to confess, wilfon, ibid.

> 2. This defign of Blowing up the Prince and People togerher, hath been commonly taken to have been she contrivance of Catesby, and of no ancienter Original than their despair of foreign affistance, upon their last negotiation with Spain. Of that mind feems our Historian here to have been, pag. 3. And the truth is, there is scarce to be found in print any direct and express proof of other author and contriver or more ancient original of it, though possibly we may ere long fee it further proved to have been defigned in the Queens days

So also Speed, Sect. 33, 37. Proceed. E.4.

days against her, but upon further consideration of her age, not likely, according to the course of nature, to live long, deferred till the coming in of King Famer. In the mean time it may be remembred what is often feen in Judicatories and Tryals of Causes both Civil and Criminal, that those things and works of darkness which are carried on and managed with so much secrecy and caution, that no direct proof can be made against them, are notwithstanding often discovered and brought to light by a heedful and circumfpect observation and comparing of circumstances: insomuch, that the evidence of the truth, which is by this means made out, is not seldom more satisfactory to all present, than the direct and express proof and testimonies of witnesses, which many times prove falle, even then when they feem to be most full and punctual. And therefore to prove this contrivance proceeded from other heads than Catesby's alone and was of longer standing than hath been commonly thought, what is yet wanting in direct proofs, may in some measure be made up by the confideration of the following Circumstances.

3. And first, it may be noted that though Catesby be the first of all these Conspirators taken in this plot that did propose it to the rest, for ought appears by what was discovered at their examination and tryals, yet doth it not thence follow but it might have been before proposed to him (being the most active of them) by some other: nor doth it any way appear that it was of his own only devising, as to omit other reasons is manifest from their attempt who would have fathered it upon Cecil, as a trick to ensure those gentlemen; for otherwise there would have been no ground or colour for that

pretenfe.

4. It may 2. be remembred that this was not the first time that this means, by blowing up by Gunpowder, hath been proposed by confederates of that party for the destruction and murther of our Princes. For it had been long before proposed by one Moody to be laid under Queen Elizabeth's bed and secretly fired. (Camden, Anno 1587. principia.) So that this may seem to have been but a further improvement of a sormer project.

5. But 3. to come nearer to this present business, There is a passage of the fesuite Del Rio, 6. Disquis. Magic. cap. 1. edit. Lovan: 1600. which, with the concurrence of other circumstances, makes it very suspitious that he was privy to the Contrivance, if not the Author of it; and which though published in Print some years before the discovery of this plot, hath scarce been taken notice of, as to this purpose, till of late. And this it is,

Pag. 154.

Sect. 2. This Section, faith he, I add by reason of the simplicity of Some Confessors, and the rashness and malice of some Judges, &c. Then he first gives us this note, that the Seal of Confession bath the same force in all crimes even the most enormous; as in the crime of Treason, and then makes a distinction between offences committed, and offences to be committed, and as to offences committed, he fays it is the opinion of some, which feems to be the common opinion of the Canonifts, that the priest may reveal the offence already committed, which be bath learn'd, not in the Sacrament of Penance, but without it, under a promise of secrecy, and of the seal of Confession; year that he ought to rereal it before the Judge if he be produced for a witness. This opinion, faith he, is rejected by others --- but I think both probable, but the latter more fafe. Then, as to offences to be committed, when a person will not abstain or amend bimfelf but refolves to accomplish the crime, there bath been some Furifts, faith he, that have thought, that they may be revealed by the Confessor. This is a dangerous opinion, and withdraws men from Confession; and therefore he concludes that, the common contrary opinion is altogether to be followed, That it is not lawful to detect; not even Treason against the state. In order to a further proof of this Conclusion, he tells us what limitations they of this opinion do put upon it, this among the reft, If the penitent bave partners accomplices, and he indeed is penitent and promises amendment, but be discovers that yet there is danger still. lest while be desists, the mischief be committed by bis accomplices: For then they think that, to prevent the future damage, the Priest may reveal the offence which is to be committed, although the penatens confent not. And, as to this limitation, he fays it depends

Pag. 155.

pends upon this Question, Whether a Priest may at any time Pag. 156. make use of the discovery, which he hath made from Confession, so much as for government and the averting of imminent evils? which he illustrates with this Instance, A Malefactor [Maleficus] confesses that himself or some other bath put Powder or something else under such an entry (or groundsel,) and except it be taken away the bouse will be burnt, the Prince destroyed, and as many as go into or out of the City will come to great mischief or bazard; and then for some reasons resolves for the Negative, (contrary to the common fense and opinion of almost all the Doctors, as he there acknowledgeth,) whereof this is one, viz. because Pope Clement VIII. by his decree had command. ed the Superiors of the Regulars to be most diligently cautious that they should not make use of that knowledge of sins, which they bad by confession for exterior government: which shews faith he, that the Pope doth most approve that opinion, which will have Confessors so to carry themselves, as if they had heard nothing at all in confession. At length from this Doctrine he draws these Consequences. The 1. to this purpose, If one Malefactor confessing, among the circumstances of his fin, difcover bis partner (in it,) and the other also presently comes and confesses, but conceals that sin wherein be was partner with the other, the Confessor may not use this knowledge to examine him concerning that fin (which his partner hath confessed.) The 2. is, That a Priest may not, no, not for fear of death threatned bim, reveal this crime to any one; and that in that case he may fay that he knows not, nor bath heard any thing of such fin; because in truth be doth not know, nor bath beard it, as (he is ) a man, or as a member of the Commonwealth, (but as a Prieft.) Yea, he might fay that he hath not beard it in Confession, or that the accused person bath not confessed this to bim, if be do but the while think in his mind, (viz. fo, that I may reveal it ; ) and all thefe be may confirm upon Oath. Nor may the Priest be compelled to reveal it by any one, no not by the Pope, much less by any other. This passage hath so many suspicious circumstances both in it and concurring with it, as all together may be equivalent to a full and dired proof of what is faid, that Del Rio was privy ..

privy to the conrivuance of this horrible Powder Plot, if

not himself the Contriver of it.

6. For 1. if we confider the Nature of the Instance, nothing could have been better fitted to express this plot of blowing up the Prince and People together; more agreeing in all particulars; by burning a house, not firing a City; destroying Prince and People, King and Parliament, not the Prince alone, or also with his family and houshold only; by powder, not by poison, affafination, or open rebellion; by laying it under a house, not under a bed as Moody proposed: and all this in so unusual and extraordinary a case, when inflances enow and mischievous enough might have been given of more ordinary and usual defigns, and when he had other Doctors who write concerning the same question under his confideration, who must needs have put other instances into his mind, had not this been fludied by him, and here made use of upon design. If any of those Doctors whom he there cites give any such instance, he may reasonably be absolved from all suspicion which otherwise will lie very heavy upon him. But it may be thought that perhaps he did this in conformity to the subject which he handles, Magick; and therefore makes his instance of a Witch or Magitian, and of Rowders, and placed under a groundsel or enery. But first, were there not many other instances of notorious wickednesses more usual or frequently done or reported to be done by such Artists? And secondly, was ever any such thing done or pretended or reported to have been done by Art Magick? We may therefore reasonably suspect that this instance was not devised meerly for conformity to his subject of Magick; but rather proposed under that notion and those terms for a blind a little to disguise and hide the design from such, as having no thoughts of luch enterprises, might eafily be diverted from any supition of it, while yet it might be plain enough to fuch minds, as were fufficiently disposed to practife such projects.

7. And 2. if we consider the Case, wherein this Instance is given, viz. Of Concealing Confessions; his Resolution of it, and that contrary to the common sense and opinion of almost

all the Doctors, as he confesseth; And lastly his Confirmation of his resolution by the Authority of the then present Pope, and directing the practice of it by equivocation, this may direct us to his End and Defign in divulging both this Instance, and in this very case, his Doctrine and Resolution, & that confirmed by the Popes Authority for concealing Confessions, viz. By the one to infinuate and intimate the Contrivance; and by the other to encourage and promote the Practile and Execution of it, by confirming the Confessors in Concealing Confessions, and encouraging the others to the more security of not being discovered. To which end and purpose also was probably the Treatife of Equivocation V. Foulis, pag. which was found in Treshems lodging, then very seasonably 700. written and defigned, which was feen and allowed by Garnet. (v. Proceedings I.) And this with Del Rio fo mutually conspiring in a tendency and subserviency to the same end, do confirm the conjecture of the defign of both. And it seems very confonant to the subtile practifes of the Fesuites, rather in this fly, fecret manner, underhand to infinuate this project, than directly and expressy to have proposed it: so that it had been no great wonder if it had been longer, before it had been apprehended and put in execution; and it is not improbable that Garnet; who had been ingaged in V. Foulis, page former Conspiracies and held correspondence in Flanders, 695, 696. Abmight long before have knowledge of it, though he would bot. Antilogia, feem to have received his first knowledge of it, by Grefwel cap. 11. from Catesby.

8. Again 3. if with the form and composure of this instance, we shall compare the mysterious and enigmatical form and composure of some other things relating to this conspiracy. which are now plain enough to be understood, the plain explication of those will teach us how to unriddle the mystery of this, and direct us how to expound it. Such was that form of Prayer, which was taught to some of their party, some time before the intended execution of this Plot, for the prosperity of their Labours and downfal of Heresie, in these words, alluding to the working in the Mine and blowing up of the House: Prosper, Lord, their pains that labour in thy cause

day and night: Let Herefie vanish like smoak: Let the memory of it perish with a crack, like the ruine and fall of a broken boufe, (Foulis, pag. 698,) And that very Letter which was the occasion of the happy discovery and prevention of that horrible design, in these words: Though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who burts them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no barm; for the danger is past as soon as you have burn'd this Letter. To these may be added that rumour cast abroad of another Petition which should be in no danger of being denied, here mentioned by Thuanus, pag. 1. And though in its first conception, this project was doubtless known but to few, yet when once resolved on, as the time of its execution drew nearer, the more frequent were these and such like Indications and Symptoms of it. So Parsons Rector of the English Colledge at Rome, orders the Students to Pray for the Intention of their Father Rector; the meaning whereof when the discovery of the Plot had unriddled to them, the horridness of it made divers of them desert the Colledge. (Foulis, pag. 692.) So the Jesuites at Lisbon a little before this exploit should have been acted in England, are at some expense of Powder, on a Festival day, to experiment the force of it; (Foulis, page 693. ) And other Instances of this nature may be obferved.

9. Here 4. The Time when this notable Instance was published, though so long before the discovery of the Plot, may be very confiderable, and perhaps afford us greater evidence. than if it had not been published till some years after it was. \* V. Review of A time when the Pope and his fworn \* fervants the Jesuites the Counc, of were as studious in their Machimations & Contrivances, and active in their exploits, as well against all of the Reformed Religion in general, as the Queen and State of England in particular, as ever. And 1. for this Pope (Clem. VIII. who was elected 30. 7 an. 1592, and died 2 Mar. 1604.) It was contemporary with the holy league instituted by him against the Protestants, wherein almost all Popish Princes, except

Trent.1. 5.6.7.

the King of France and the Great Duke of Tulcany were ingaged, as we are told by Fr. Brouard the Popes Secretary, for the promotion whereof he much indeavoured a Peace between the Emperour and the Tutk, and often complained that the war had been continued full forty years against the Turk, in which time the Church of Rome might with less cost have recovered her Authority in Europe. 2. Contemporary with his Bulls ( Cambden 1600 pag. 769.) to encourage and promote the Irish Rebellion. (V. Foulis, lib. 9. cap. 3.) 3. Contemporary with those Bulls, the one to the Catholick Faulis, p. 693. Nobility, Gentry and Laity, the other to the Arch-priest and the rest of the English Clergy, Not to admit or receive, after Speed, fect. 4. the death of Queen Elizabeth, when ever she should happen to Foulis, p. 6934 depart this life, any for King, bow near soever in blood, except they were such who should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but withal endeavour and fludy to promote it, and, after the manner of their ancestors, undertake upon Oath to perform it. (Proceedings Q. 3.) And these are the Bulls which have been long fince deemed the foundation of this Conspiracy (Tortura Torti, pag. 279. Foulis, pag. 693.) And this is the Pope who had tormerly [sc. \* 1597] exhorted \* Note, the the French and Spaniard to unite, invade England and di- same year that vide it between them. (Foul. pag. 677. ex D'Offat. Let. 87.) from Spain to who had he lived but some few moneths longer, might Rome. Font. pag. have been as ready with his Breves to second the success 686. of this Conspiracy as was his Successor Paul V. with \* his. \* V. Andrews
5. Nor were they only the heads of the Pope and Grandees cap. 5. p. 113. at Rome and other places, who were busie and active at that Foul. p. 692. time in contriving projects and conspiracies for the subversion and ruine of our Government and Religion, but of perfons also of meaner quality, and they not only the Popish Incendiaries of our own Nation, but forreiners also of the Romish Faction. Thus we may observe Campanella's book de Monarchia Hispanica exactly contemporary with this of Del Rio, as the Preface to the English Edition doth demonftrate viz that it was written between the years 1599 & 160d. In this book he shews in part, what Preparations may be made. before band; that fo Soon as ever Queen Elizabeth ( who is now

MS.

very old ) is dead, they may be immediately put into Execusion. Thefe, faith he, and the like Preparations may be made, co. But what are thefe ? Why, in general 1. Caufing Divisions and Diffentions among themselves, and continually keeping up the fame. 2. Sowing the feeds of a contimual war between England and Scotland 3. Rouzing up and encouraging to action the Spirits of the English Catholicks. 4. Dealing with the chief of the Irish Nobility, to "new model Ireland, as foon as they hear of the Oueen's death. For the accomplishing of all which he bath feveral Subservient means. Chap. 29. But for the like what they may be, is left to the Readers judgement to conceive. Only it may be noted that he who would not feruple to cause and keep up Differtions, to few the feeds of a continual war, to excite Rebellions among us, would hardly have fcrupled at fuch a project, as by one blow would have put us quite out of our pain. It would be too long to note all the Projects of private men to this purpole, which were on foot at that time: but this of Campanella for the promotion of the Interest and designs of the King of Spain is the more pertinent and observable because our conspirators had their Negotietions with him, their Leger there, and built their greatest hopes upon his affiftance at the farme time.

of Time, very considerable, which is intimated to us in those words of Campanello. For as we may easily perceive many heads at work at this time, many projects on foot contemporary in the contrivance; so do they all agree in the Time designed for Execution. So Campanella's Preparations, so soon as ever Queen Elizabeth is dead, are immediately to be put in Execution. So Pope Clements Bulls had respect to the same time, Quandocung, contingered miseram illam furninam ex bac vita excedere. (Proceed. Q. 4.) And the Reason of all this is very apparent. For now the King of Scots, as Campanella observes, bovers, as it were, at this time over England, not only bytreasurable his neighborhood to it, but also because of his Right of Succession.

And therefore the time now draweth on, that after the death of the said Queen Elizabeth, who it now

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pery old, the Kingdom of England must fall into the bands of their Antient and Continual Rivals, the Scots: a thing very grievous no doubt, both to Rome, Spain and Flanders; and therefore no wonder if all beat their brains to prevent so great a mischief. For whereas England alone, notwithstand- Pag. 188. ing in a manner continually at wars with their ancient and continual Rivals, appeared both against the Catholick King in the Pag. 155. Low Countries, and against the most Christian King in France. assisting the Hereticks both with her Counsels and Forces, what will Great Britain do, when not only the occasion of those wars shall cease, but both Nations be united under one and the fame King? No question but the forethoughts of this set wifer heads on work than Catesbys, or any other of those unhappy Gentlemen, who are vainly pretended to have been trapan'd by Cecil; and something no doubt was resolved upon, the time drawing on, and the Queen very old. And this might be the reason of their long expectation, that change of State, would change Religion, also (Speed fect. 37.) And if we confider the Principles and practifes of these men, and what before had been attempted against the late Queen, not only by open Hostility, as becomes Kings and States where they have just cause, but also by base secret conspiracies and treacheries against her person, instigated and somented, as well by other Princes and by their Embassadors, even whilst Legers here (as Mendoza and Labespineus,) as by the Pope, we can hardly think any thing so bate or barbarous that they were not like to attempt upon this occasion. And if we again confider, how all their former endeavours, whether more justifyable before men, as by open hostility, or more base and unworthy, not only by promoting rebellions, but also by poison & affasination, had hitherto been ineffectual and defeated, we may not unreasonably think that they might at last arrive at some such project as this, as their last refuge and most effectual and infallible means to accomplish at last their fo long studied defigns. And lastly that it really was so, the punctual observance both of Campanella's preparations, by indeavouring to alienate affections and raise jealousies between the English and Scots, and other differences and diffentions h.2 among

among us and stirring up the spirits of the English Catholicks, &c. which were practifed immediately upon the Queens death and the Kings coming to the Crown of England ( and have ever fince been profecuted) too long here to be related, and also of Del Rio's Instance, and Doctrine of Concealing Confessions, and that by Equivocation even in examination upon Oath, so well fitted to this purpose, and as well and exactly followed and profecuted, may reasonably incline us to believe. This circumstance of the time designed for the Execution of this Plot is also visible in Catesby's Reasonings ( see the Hift. pag. 4.5.) which he might well learn from the same Tutors from whom he learnt the project of the Plot it self; for if to take off King James alone, unless also the Prince, the Duke, and moreover the Peers and whole Parliament, would not serve their turn, much less would it have served, to have taken off Queen Elizabeth ( now ready to die of her felf) though with her Parliament, while the King, together with the addition of another Nation to this, was ready to succeed her.

11. And thus we see the business is very plain as to the time so long before resolved on in all their Councels both at Rome and Spain. It now remains to confider how the attempt in point of Time did answer this resolution. The Queen deceased the 24 of March. 1602. the next day was King James proclaimed, who came to Barwick 6. April, and to Lond. 7. May following, Anno 1603. and was Crowned July after. The Parliament began 19. March following and continued till 7. July 1604. Then was prorogued till 7. Feb. and then again till 5. Odob. 1605. and then at last till the satal day 5. Novemb. following, when this unhappy Plot was happily discovered: From whence we again run it counter to its Original, thus: 11. Decemb. 1604, was the Mine begun; + and in May preceding, did the Conspirators actually en-( \* Proceedings gage in the defign under an Oath of Secrecy. \* The Lent before Catesby imparted the defign to Thomas Winter, + and in September before that (which was Anne 1603.) to \* Percy; which was before the Parliament began: and that being the time designed, it is a very fair evidence to our purpole,

( + Fankes Confes.) R.4) (+ winters Confes.) ( \* Proceedings 2.1.)

pole, that find it on foot at that very time, which was by all those Councels so long before designed: and before this we cannot reasonably think that it should have been imparted to many even of the most trusty of their party, by the first contrivers of it, who notwithstanding might long before have resolved upon it, and did all the while, secretly and as behind the curtain, steer and manage the motions of those who were to be imployed in it. But before we follow the trace further, if any one should here make this question Wby they had not prepared their mine against the first sitting of the Parliament? though we might well content our felves with this answer, that it may be sufficient in all reason to satisfie us and them too, that we have this evidence, that the project was then on foot, and that many accidents might unexpectedly intervene, which might though unknown to us, move them for some time to defer their preparations, as, even after it was begun, Thuanus tells us, that the work was often intermitted and often repeated, and we find that by such an accident as the Seosch Lords fitting at Percy's house, it was minters Confes. for some time deferred; yet to leave no scruple or pretence for it, we can tell them the true reason, viz. that being a thing to horrid and inhumane in it felf, and also \* feanda- \* V. winters lous to their Religion, it was thought fit that first more Confes. gentle means should be used, as a Treaty of Peace by the King of Spain, and Petition by the Papifts at home, whereunto they were incouraged by some great hopes they had conceived, but upon very uncertain grounds, of a Toleration. But when the King of Spain, being well-pleased for his own part with the proceedings of the Treatie, fell off from his former promises of assistance, and their Petition was rejected at home, they presently conclude that a desperate disease must have a desperate remedy, and in order thereunto, Catesby V. winters begins to broach the project, which against this time had been Conses. kept fecret in store, and imparts it to some of his most trusty confidents; who thereupon might probably think that it was of his contrivance, as others from thence have fince thought it to have been; and that the rather, because in all their dealings preceding this, even to the first intimation of it

by Del Rio, nothing visible did appear as to those conspirators in particular, but only Negotiations with Spain and Flanders for forrein affistances, and an invasion; which wifer heads upon the confideration of the former ill successes of such attempts could not think of it felf sufficient; and therefore we may more reasonably believe that they who secretly and underhand managed the business, so ordered these Negotiations as well for a blind to conceal the main defign, as for a necesfary means to second it, when it had once taken effect. But besides these Negotiations abroad, we find other matters at home in agitation, by persons of the same party, to wit the Tesuites in general. For Watson and Clark, two Priests who were apprehended July 1603. before the King was crowned. for another plot of a lower rate and more ordinary nature, in their Confessions upon their apprehension, affirmed that there was some treason intended by the Jesuites, as appeared to them, by their provisions of Money, Arms and Ammunition, diffwading the Catholicks from acceptance of the King at his first coming, (but withal) wishing them not to ftir, but keep themselves quiet, till they heard from them. (Proceed. K. 3.) Of this, Cafaubon, who had perused their Confessions, writeth thus to Fronto Durane in his Epifile dated 7 Novem. July 1611. pag. 188. 'This is the first Conspiracy against the King which after his arrival in England came to light; but that there were others also at the same time in agitation, both the same Watson and Clark gave us notice, and those things which from thence have enfued, have proved. They faid, and often and constantly affirmed, that when they communicated their counsels to the Jesuites then living in England, and desized them that they would be partakers with them of so noble an enterprise, they received this answer, that the Jesuites could not joyn with them; forasmuch \* as they had a business of memorabilem in their omn in hand which should be famous to all oges, and which in due time would take effect. And these confestions and affirmations of these Priests, the truth whereof might be further cleared, were it either necessary or not too long to undertake it, bring us to that very point of time defigned for execution in

\* ut qui suam quoq; ipf parilem telam orfi. avum texturam pararent, tempore opportuno exitum babituram.

and sufficiently show us that some first motions towards the execution of this plot were then on soot, though the more plain and downright preparations, were for some such reasons as abovesaid for some time deserred, and sometimes, it may be, adjourned for want of sit opportunity. And therefore, since Del Rio's instance is contemporary with these projects, and this enterprise of the Powder Plot with the time designed in them for execution, we may very reasonably think that he gave an instance of that which was then as certainly designed as it was now punctually practiced, saving only that little distorting of it to the subject of his book, which

does but make it the more fufpicious.

12. And that we may fee that there is no circumstance but doth, not only well agree with this conjecture, but fome way or other help to confirm it, we may also take notice of the Place, where this book of Del Rio's was written and first Printed vis. Lovane, in Flanders , where these Conspirators had Father Baldwin, a Jesuite, Leger, and others of their confederates, as Sir William Stanty and Owen, Resident; whither they had often recourse, and from whence they expected their most present help after the blow should be given. So that it was not hard for them to meet with fome intimation among their frequent confultations about thefe matters there, in Flanders, of some such notable and most effectual project, not only by means of this book there published, but even from the Author himself, or the Approbators of it their correspondents. And of Caresby in particular, upon whom this contrivance is father'd, that he held correspondence there, is plain enough; so likewise of Garnet, who was afterward had in that effects at Lovane, that it was once publickly prayed there, - Santie Henrice, Ora pro nobis (Foul. 1. 10. c. 10. fub fin )

13. Now if from the confideration of the book, we proceed further to the confideration of the Author, we shall find all circumstances still concur to the confirmation of the Confideration of the Confideration of the Society of the Jesuites, into which he was admitted. Ann. 1580. and who about the time of pub-

lishing

lishing this book became the Popes Iworn Servant, quatuor jam votis solemnibus obstrictus, being obliged not only by those three vows, Common to all the Religious Orders, but moreover by that fourth peculiar to that Society, of special obedience to the Pope. 2. Of that height of zeal against Hereticks, that at the very mention or least remembrance of them in common discourse, he would change colour and his stomach rise against them. 3. Before he entred into the Society, he had been one of the chief Senate of Brabant, then Chanceller of Brabant, and had the management of the Kings Exchequer. (Phil. Alegambe in Biblioth.) 4. And being first well qualified by these employments, and then sufficiently instructed in the Jesuites Society, he at length became a Politician, and had his projects and devises for an Innovation to be made both in Church and State throughout the whole Romane Empire, which the Jesuites earnestly endeavoured to put in practile; the fumm whereof, as they are related from his own mouth by William Freake of the Practice of the Jesuites, pag. 58. were, 'to raise such divisions and differences among the Princes of the Empire, by working upon their contrariety of opinions in matters of Religion, &c. that they may wast and weaken themselves one against another, that their strength and power may be broken, or at least weakened, and become utterly unable to withstand a common foe, when he shall come upon them. Where he sets down more particularly how differences may be raifed between fuch and fuch particular Princes. Lastly, his Opinion and Judgment of this Gunpowder Plot, may in some fort be understood by his esteem of Garnes, whom he & compared with S. Dionysius Areop. cap. 27. Areopagita. He died at Lovane 19. Ochob. 1608. not full three years after the discovery of this Plot.

\* Delr' vind. pag. 104.

14. If from the Author of this Instance we come to the \* v. Tortur. Actors of this Plot, and the Authorizers and Abettors of it, we Torti, p. 280. shall find all circumstances still to agree very well. 1. They Fesuitas Con-Sultores & Con- were all either of the same Society with this Author, \* Jesuites or their Tesuited Disciples; such to whom the Jesuites were sentientes, & R. Abbot. An-Confessors; and had the Conduct of their Consciences; such titogie, cap. 9. who were by them resolved in point of Conscience in all . 10, II. things

things concerning this Plot; received the Sacrament upon their Oath of Secrefie from them; and by them were absolved after the Plot defeated. Nor do we find any in Holy Orders, (except the Pope himself) to have had any hand in it or particular knowledge of it, but fuch as were of this Society of the Jesuites. For the Secular Priests, though two of them, in pursuance of the Popes Bulls, immediately upon the coming in of the King, were ingaged in a Conspiracy of their own ( if not trapan'd by the Jesuites, V. Stome & Fuller, Anno 1603. Sed. 14.) against him, but of a lower and more ordinary nature; and by the Actions of the Jefuites perceived something in general, that the Jesuites had then some notable Plot in agitation: yet we may reasonably believe, that they were utterly unacquainted with the Kind and Particulars of this to high and refined a project, above the pitch of their imaginations to conceive; not onely from what hath been already faid out of their Confellions, but also by reason of the differences and dissentions, which were then and have fince continued between the Jesuites and them. (V. Declarat. Motuum. Edit. 1601. & Watfons Quodlibets, Edit. 1602.)

in those parts, as Leige and Lovane, 15. 2. Nor were they two or three Tesnites only in a corner, and they of the lower rank, or of mean or ordinary authority, but such as were of greatest reputation place and Authority among them, who were concerned in this business: as, besides Ofw. Tesmond alias Greenwel, who with Rob rt Winter was by Garnet, Catesby and Tresbam, Anno 1601. Sent into Spain, with Letters commendatory to F. Cresmel, to Negotiate the then intended Spanish Expedition; besides Gerrard, and Hammond and Hall; besides \* F. Weston who, \* V. willow heretosore Anno 1595. at Wisbich castle, by his contention Hist. of King for a Superiority over the other Priests as well as Jesuites, James. began the differences which have fince continued between them; and in his book de Triplici bominis Officio, Printed Anno 1602. foretold of many calamities, storms and dangers that were like to enfue upon the Queens death, ( as did also the Author of The Ward-word Printed at Lovane 1599.

\* Answer to the Supplication, chap. 4. Edit. Lond. 1604.

\* About the time that Banham was fent by Garnet to the Pope.

faid to be Parfens) as was observed and noted \* in Print before this Plot was detected; besides all these and many more no doubt, not yet discovered, the Superiour of the whole Order of English Jesuites, even their Provincial hims felf here in England, F. Hen. Garnet, who had been eighteen years here in England, and a promoter of former conspiracies. and held correspondence with divers other of prime note and authority in forrein parts: as, 'with F. Crefwel in Spain. who being many years Vice-prafectus Anglicana Missionis. Sub provincial and Leger there, did great matters, and by the Authority which he had with the two Philips II & III. Kings of Spain, obtain'd many things of them for the good of the Catholick cause in England, as we read in Alegambe. and about a month or fix weeks + before this Plot should have been effected, went from Villadolis to Rome, to be created. a Cardinal, faith L. Omen, but more probably upon fome other negotiation concerning this great bufinels then in hand : (L. O. of the Engl. Col. in forrein parts, pag. 74. Lond. 1626. quar. ) also with F. Baldwin in the Low-countries, of like place and Authority there ever fince the year 1590, at which time Del Rio read Divinity at Doman, as he did afterward at other places in those parts, as Leige and Lovane, who being fo famous as he was in those parts, and so great a zealot against hereticks, it is not to be doubted that he had frequent converse with F. Baldmin and divers others of the English Fugitives of the better quality: Laftly, at Rome with the English Assistant there F. Parsons, whom we may conclude to have had particular knowledge of this design, not only from what he wrote concerning the Journey or Pilgrimage to S. Winefreds-well, & the mystical prayer which he ordered his Students to use, to say nothing of the many projects which his working brain continually devised, and his furious zeal as earnefly urged and profecuted, or of his Letter wherein he wrote ( Anno 1600 ) that he had then been ten years dealing in fuch matters; but we are moreover given to understand so much from some of his own Religion, though not of his Order, and that he was highly accessory to it. both before and after the discovery, as might be proved by

west and manifest instances. (The Jesuites Reasons unreafonable, Doubt 1. ) But for his Correspondence at Rome, we need do no more but first remember who Garnet was, viz. Provincial of the English Jesuites, and then reflect upon the continual weekly or offiduan Intelligences, which the Provincials from all parts constantly transmit, concerning all matters of moment, to their leveral respective Affistants at Rome, who immediately impart the fame to the F. General of the whole Society, always Resident there, and he or they as the matter requires or deferves, to the Pope: (of which the Discourse of the Jesuites Politicks, written under Pand v. Printed in the Mytt. of Jefuit. part 2. and other Writers give us an account) and then we cannot doubt of his correspondence there, not only with the English Assistant Parfons, but alfo, at least by means of the Assistant, with the F. General Claudius Aquaviva, and with the Pope himself. and that in this very particular, being a matter of fo great moment; which doth more particularly appear by the Bulls prepared to be fent over hither, as foon as the plot had taken effect, and other instances not necessary here to be infifted on. So that if we confider the Persons and their Correspondences and Intelligences, it will not be hard to conceive how easily this Plot, wherefoever or by whomsoever invented; might be communicated, if by Del Rio, to our Incendians here; if by any of them, to him; if at Rome, both to him and to them, or, for the more fecret conveyance of the notice of it, from thence, by him, to them. Which is not unlikely that it was, and that it was the contrivance of F. Parfors, who at that time, Anno 1600, had been ten years dealing in such matters and studying and promoting projects against his Country, as we may perceive by his aforesaid letter then written.

Actions and Management of the whole business, we shall find a wonderful agreement, from first to last, in all the Circumstances, not one crossing or thwarting our conjecture, not one sailing, not one that doth not afford some matter or ground to confirm it. For 1. If we consider the whole c 2

Section of Del Rio, and with it compare the Actions and carriage of the Conspirators, in all, there is so punctual an agreement, that without further proof, it feems to own and bewray its parent, being as like him, as if (according to our proverb) it was spat out of his mouth; at least to discover that it was nearly related to him. Thus with his Instance agree the undertakings of the Conspirators; with his Dectrine of not revealing things discovered in Confession, though the most hainous Treasons and most pernitious to the State, the Practice of their Confessors; with his means for concealing the same by Equivocation, and Confirmation thereof by Oath or most solemn protestations, their punctual. ftrict and resolute use and observance thereof. All which is fo plain and manifest from what is before recited out of that Section, and observed in it, and from the following History, and the Proceedings against the Traytors, that, nothing more need be alledged to prove it, as nothing can be faid with any

colour of probability to disprove it.

17. And therefore 2. We may also, as to their Actions, take notice of the great Core and Caution and Secreey, together with their Jugling indirect Practifes, wherewith they managed their business; and that in these two respects: 2. in general for the better securing of their design and undertakings from discovery. And this appears in divers Instances, as 1. In Th. Winters Dealing, first with Sir William Stanly, to whom, though a good friend to the Catholick Cause, he positively affirmed that there was no resolution to set any project a foot in England; as he tells us in his Confession : then with Eamkes, to whom though fent for by him to act in this tragedy, he impassed only a resolution of a practise in general against his Majesty for relief of the Catholick Cause, as appears by both their Confessions. 2. In that the business was very sparingly communicated, at first but to fem, and afterwards to more as the intended time of Execution drew on, and under an Oath of Secreey, in the most folemn manner confirmed, by receiving the Sacrament upon it. And Garnet himself often religiously protested to them both by word and writing that be mould never betray them, in his Letter dated on PalmPalm-Sunday (Torsera Torsi, pag. 286.) which implyes that he was often thereunto urged by them. 3. In that reason which Catesby alledged, when he defired leave to acquaint some others with the business for many, said he, may be coment that I should know, who would not therefore that all the company should be acquainted with their names, as it is in Winters Confession; and it is not unlikely that he learnt this reason by experience at the same rime and from the same person, as he did the contrivance it fell; which might possibly, for the more secrecy, be thus conveyed to him, through divers intermediate hands, from the first Author or Authors of it.

18. And 2. more especially, for securing the reputation of the Society, in case the Plot should be detected : and this appears in the Actions and indirect Practiles both of the Jeluites, and of the other Confpirators. Hence it was that Garnet the Provincial, being of greatest Authority, and therefore likely to bring most Discredit and greatest Odium upon the Society, if such a man as he should be discovered to have any hand in to foul and Infamous a matter, at first would not be known even to Caresby himfelf, the principal vilible actor in the Plot, "of to any other," but of his own Order, that he was made privy to it. And after the Discovery of the Plot, how follicitous was he and concern d for the whole Society! At at attem eft de Societate; which he feared would fuffer for it, as being confcious they well deferved. Then upon his Examination and Tryal, how feady and dexterbus was he with his Equivocations, and delberately impious in him Denyals, upon his Soul, and with detenable Executions, of those very things which were after fo manifeffly proved against him, that he could not longer deny them! And for the other Conspirators They saxed none in Haly Orders, which many looked apon Tays Thuanus, as purposely avoided because they were bound by bath not to do it. And certainly, Garner, when he lo often engaged not to betray them, would not be less careful for the Society, to oblige them not to discover any of it. 2. Nor did they only carefully abitain from accusing, but most desperately indeavoured

frivance,

by off means, even the worst of means, by lyes and false protestations is excuse them. Such were Digbys Protestations, whatsupport the Early of Saithney observed, what saith must as beautiful to speek ment, protestations, who Jonghe, to excuse nell Joints bow son, lower, was at orming about it meritare rious so so at such since as they had no hope at themselves, have now consessed ex proprio one. Such was also that samentable attempt the Treatmy upon his death had so exquise Garneed whether he was also that samentable, whether he was also that samentable, attempt the was also may be father immored as by the Contestions, both off their same be added. Their Design to have father at the enterprise upon the Puritance, and on Garnes himself. To these may be added. Their Design to have father at the enterprise upon the Puritance, and fince. Their impudent groundless, Impatabless of the Original of it, to Cecil: which makes the sclation of the Original of it, to Cecil: which makes the sclation of shall of the professorial and chat against makes this imputation makes the sclation of shall of the professorial and chat against makes this imputation makes the sclatton of the original as at the contest of the contest

The Now of these Costs resigns of their Secrety and Pearly of the we may realonably make this The Land Regiment, and stating and sufficiency of these and such like Argument, and stating and sufficiency of these and such like Argument, and stating and sufficiency of these and such like Argument, and stating and sufficiency of these of Darkiness as souther that the sufficiency of the sufficiency of Darkiness as souther that the sufficiency proved to paye been graphed with so that secrety and Practice, we cannot reasonably expect secant Proof and Evidence of any Citourntance belonging that the pattern to plant secrety proved the sufficiency of man and sufficient to plant secrety plant specifies and agreement of all darks from the secrety sufficiency plain sufficiency of man appetently aftern manifest sufficiency plain sufficiency if was shought needlary for excelling any of the Society, what they are sufficient that the sufficiency of a sufficient sufficiency what they are leaded from their speeches for that sufficient what the sufficient suff

trivance.

upon their last Negotiation there are a whole repeated to the

To which it might be dufwered from sheir Profile to encyle their Complices afpecially the Jefring that they are tributed the Contrivance to Casesby ; because he being dead could accuse no other, and affigued That Time y as being a good probable Occasion of it. Bue 2. It may be Answered. perhaps more fatisfactorily and fully, From their Secrecy, and from Catesby's own words, that some might be willing to be known to him, who would not be known to the reff to the printy and the rather because this was an old policy formerly practices in pader to the Spanish Invasion! which was after attempted in 88. when many were fo cumingly engaged that they knew not of and fo were not able to accuse any, but the person that incaged them. Tas Sir Francis Bacon in his Observations upon the Libel published 1502. and in his Collection of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth. thews from a Letter of one of their Phinoiput Heads. Which was intercepted; ) and not only practifed before but also repeated immediatly after this Plot, when Five had feverally undertaken the Earl of Salisbury's douth and vowed the performance of it; and vet it was to ordered that none of those Five knew who the other Four were of of the better preventing the discovery of the reft, it any one by afferingting and not performing should be apprehended; from tience it may well be answered: That it is very probable, that Winter and Famkes, from whose Confessions this mistake hath arisen, and the Objection may be made, and most of the other Conspirators, did indeed know of no other Author of the Contrivance, but Catesby. And wet it may very well be, that He received it from others the first Contrivers of it, either immediately or mediately, either the full Project express, with the Reasons mentioned by Thuanus. under some Oath of Secrecy or Engagement not to discover from whom he received it, or at least fome flich Hints and Intimations of it, as were fufficient to fet on work a mind fo active and well disposed to improve the same to the utmost; and without any fuch engagement, he might be apt enough

faid,

to take the Invention upon himself; not only out of Devotion to the Society, whose reputation he might thereby the better secure in case it should miscarry; but even out of an Ambition to be reputed the Author of fo Glorious an Enterprise. And that He should be intrusted with so Great a Secret ,"and the Chief visible Management of it, rither than any of the rest, was very likely, 1. Because he and his Family had been addicted and devoted to the Jesuits from their very first coming into England; and were harbourers of Campian, who with his Comrade Parsons ( the two fift and principal who were deligned and employed for that Service ) came into England Anno 1580, where he was apprehended 22. Tuly in the year next enluing; as we are informed by Sanders 3. de Schismate Anglicano. From which time it is not unlikely that he held correspondence with F. Parlons, who soon after returned to Rome, and continued there Rector of the English Colledge, ill fome years after the discovery of this plot, "he was sharnefully turned out of Rome by Mountieur Berbunes the French 'Embassadour, and Order from the King of France, being discovered to plot a new treason against his Majesty, to introduce the Duke of Parma; as we are told by a Romanist. But 2. this was not all why Caterby was preferred before the reft in this service: for in this respect Trestant might perhaps have claimed that honor, as well as he, as we may fee in Sanders; but Catesby had another more special qualification, as being more Cautious and Cunning, as we may observe in Thuanus.

21. But because so plausible a Pretense, for the Occasion of these desperate resolutions at that time, as the King of Spain's then deserting of the Conspirators upon his Treaty of Peace with England, may seem to have some weight in it; though it must be noted, that this seemes rather to have been the Conjecture of the Historians and others, than that any such thing was expressly alledged by the Conspirators, for ought appears in the Printed Confessions of Famkes and Winter; yet that we may leave no scruple, and make it surther appear that we have not only the concurrence of all Circumstances to consist our belief of the truth of what hath been said.

1593.

said, but have also sufficient matter and ground for Answer to all Objections, we shall return such Answer, though touch'd before, as may both sufficiently solve this doubt, and be of some use to other purpose. And therefore it must be remembred, 1. That all the neighbouring Popilh Princes, especially France, Spain, and the Archdukes of Austria, toward the latter end of the Queens Reign, were not a little concerned upon Fear of what Confequence the Union of the shree Kingdoms , (viz. of Scotland with England and Ireland) might prove in time; as is not only apparent in it felf, but intimated to us by the Papilts themselves in their Supplication to King James before the discovery of this plot; and thereupon bent all their Consultations, and used all Means to prevent or hinder it, as well after the Kings coming in. as before, and even by their Embassadours here, did not only tamper with some of the Prime Ministers of State to corrupt them, but also practised to raile sirs and Rebellions : Of the French, Cambden tells us that the French Embassadour studied to move Commotions, ne duo divisa Britannie Regna, Anglie & Scotie, in unum coalescerent; and others inform us of his tampering with some of the Prime Statesmen here. And of Count Arembergh, Embassadour Extraordinary for the Archdukes, we find him reported to have been an agent in the Treason of Watson and Clark, and not only so, but that He and they were the Contrivers of it. and that He drew into it the Lord Cobbam, and, by his means, his brother Brook, Parbam, the Lord Grey of Wilfon, and at length Raleigh allo was brought in.

a deeper mystery in the Counsels of Spain, than meerly an Invasion intended. For long before this, The King of Spain (as Sir Fr. Bacon in his Report of the 'Treason of Loper, well 'observes) having found by the Enterprise of 88 the Difficulty of an Invasion of England, layed aside the Prosecution of his Attempts against this Realm by Open Forces, and by all means projected to trouble the waters here by Practice, first to move some Innovation in Sectland, then, he sollicited a Subject within this Realm, (being a Person of great

Foulis lagacon Sastg

1588.

great Nobility) to rife in Arms, and Levy war against her Majesty: Perhaps he means the East of Darby, whom Richard Hesker endeavoured to perswade to assume the Title of King, deriving his Right from his great Grandmother 1593. . Mary daughter of Hen. vri. and made him large promifes of Aids and Money from the Spaniard, threatning him with sudden destruction if he did not do it, and conceal the busi-Countellers and Ministers using his name, descended to a course Against all Honour, all Society and Humanity; Odious to God and Man; Detelled by the Heathens themfelves; to take away the life of her Majesty, by Violence or Poilon. A matter which might be proved to be, not only against all Christianity, and Religion, but against Nature, The Law of Nations, The Honour of Arms, The Civil Law. The Rules of Morality and Policy; Finally, the most Condemned, Barbarous and Ferine Act that can be imagined, oc. What then would he have faid, and what must we think of this fo far transcendent Inhumane and Antichriftian Powder Plot! But he goes on : Certain it is, that even about this present time, there have been suborned, and lent into this Realm, divers persons, some English, some Triff, corrupted by Money, and Promises; and Resolved and Conjured by Priests in Confession, to have executed that most wretched and horrible Fact. Of which number certain have been taken; and fome have suffered, [as Patrick Cullen, an Irish Fencer; and afterward Ri. Williams and Edmond York, for whose encouragement and remard an Assignation of forty thousand Crowns, under the band of Stephano Ibarra, the Kings Secretary at Bruxels was deposited with Holt a Jesuit, who kissing the Consecrated Host, swore that the money should be paid as soon as the murther was committed, and engaged them two by Oath upon the Holy Sacrament to perform it. Carnd. Anno 1594, 1595.] And forme 'are spared, because they have with great forrow confessed thele attempts, and detected their suborners; I there were also designed at the same time for this purpose as the others routis 1.700.7. confessed, one Fipping, Edmund Garret an Ensign, with a

Wallon,

and Printed Books.

din. Ling.

Wallon, and a Burgundian, and one Young, and perhaps fome of the m might be taken and spared. But says Sir Francit, Among the number of these execrable undertakers, there was none to much built and relyed upon, by the Great Ones of the other fide, as was the Phylician Lopes; And then he proceeds in the particular relation, how one Manuel Andrada, who had revolted from his own King of Portugal Don Autonio to the King of Spain, having before won Doctor Lopez Sworn Physician of her Majesties Household to the King of Spains tervice, coming trellily out of Spain, treated with Lopiz touching the emptyloning of the Queen, which he undertook for fifty thousand Crowns, but staying the execution, till by Letters from Spain he should Have Affurance of the payment of the Money, those Letters, the one from the Count de Fuentes and the other from the Secretary Tusta, which were delivered to the mellenger by the Count's own hand, being happily intercepted, the Practile was difeovered, and the Great Service, whereof thould arife a Universal Benefit to the whote world, as the Letters expressed it, very opportunely difappointed, and Lopez with Em. Louys and Ferrera de Gams, whereof the one managed the bufinels abroad, and the other refided here to give correspondence, were apprehended and arraigaed; who upon thele Detters and their own confession being found guilty, were conderined, and about three months after executed at Tiburne, as Camden tells us. The like practile we find again forne few years after repeated in Spain, whence by Walpole the Teluit, 883 Some time Rector or at least of great authority at Villadolis where, as I take it, the Spanish Court was at that time kepr, Edw. Saure was lent over to poylon the Queen, under pretente of redeeming Spanish Captives, being by that Jesuit encouraged upon the score of merit, with promises of Eternal Salvation, and his bleffing. Camb. Ann. 1598. out the same Providence still preserved her.

23. And to these pitiful and base unworthy Arts, did the Grave Spanish Counsels and high vaunts at last descend; and this was a fair Introduction to the Contrivance of this Master-piece and last resuge of the Powder-plot, which,

from

from what hath been said before, we have great reason to believe did shortly after succeed. Now if these things be considered, and therewith the State and Condition of England and Spain at that time, which we may find well compared to our hand by Sir Francis Bacon in his confiderations touching a war with Spain, it must needs be a very weak and childish thing for any man to imagine that Spain should have been so inconsiderate as to have had any thought of Invading England at that time, notwithstanding any combination of whatfoever party ready to receive him here, of Papifts and discontented persons, (whereof he had made greater preparations against the Northern Rebellion and 88.) did he not build upon some such mystery of the Powder Plot. And indeed, if we well examine the Preparations then made or defigned both abroad and at home, we shall find them rather proportionable to second some such seat as this, when the King and the Nobility and a great part of the Gentry were defroyed, and the whole Kingdom under fo great a confternation and confusion as must there upon unavoidably have enfued, than otherwise to have atchieved any conquest of this Nation. And if this was so that all did depend upon some such fecret machination, it was very agreeable to the Counsels and Practiles of the Spaniards, (who, as Sir Fr. Bacon observes, are great Waiters upon Time, and ground their Plots deep)

order to the. Invation of 88 by rumours, and Printed Books.

\*As they had I. By these means, to \* hold up the minds of the Papists, before done in and keep them in continual readiness till the Queens death, at which time all the Popish Consultations, for fundry years before, aimed, as hath been sufficiently manifested; and then after her death to enter into and go on with a Treaty of Peace (as they did in 88. till the noise of the Cannon gave notice of the Invalion, and as Don Jo. of Auftria had before done ) and by that means provide for themselves, in case the other project failed; and in the mean time underhand to infinuate that contrivance, to them who were apt enough of themselves to put it in execution; but yet in appearance fo to defert them, as if it should be discovered, they might not appear to have been in the least privy to it. In the month of Sept. + came the Spanish Embassador, and in the same

moneth.

moneth was \* Percy by Catesby acquainted with the Plot. \* Proceed.R.2. It was rumour'd, as our historians tell us, that the King of Spain was a formenter of the Plot; but for his Ministers, they could not be unacquainted with our Author Del Rio, a famous Jeluite natum cooptatus who had once been in \* Honourable Civil employments under eft. Sed probithat King, a member of the Supreme Senate of Brabant, tate & dollrina Judge of the Marshals Court, Advocate of the Kings Ex- Juffragantibus chequer, Chancellor of Brabant, and Counsellor of State, and Palatinis & afterwards entred into the Society at Pinira in Spain, and if militibus jus they were otherwise ignorant of it, might from him have dicere, mox learn't the contrivance, who himself might possibly have etiam Brabanfeen a little experiment or Emblem of it in Stiria whither he tario effe, Regiwent about the year 1600. When the Protestant Ministers umque Fiscum were cast out by the Decree of the Archduke through the curare jussus est. instigation of the Jesuites, and among other Outrages, a Alegamb. Lip-Church, wherein were the Monuments of a Noble Protestant inscribes an Familie the Hofmans, and the dead carkales and bones blown Epistle to him up, not casually, but with Gun-powder, for that purpose put at Lovain, under it; As Thusnus reports, Anno 1600. l. 124.

24. But to conclude this Subject; If we look into the Beginning, Progress and Succession of all those Tragical Attempts, which upon the score, or at least under the Pretense of Restoring the Catholick Religion in England, have been made or promoted, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeeb of Bleffed Memory, against Her and Her Kingdoms, we shall find in all from first to last such a Combination of Counfels and Mutual Affistances between the Bishops of Rome and the King of Spain with his Netberlands, as will very much confirm what hath been faid, and may reasonably perswade us to believe that the same was also continued in this. It would be too long to make a particular relation of all; but yet it may not be amils, briefly to take notice of the principal of them; not so much to confirm what harh been said, which needs it not, as to observe the true Principles, from which all have proceeded, and what use and benefit we may make of the whole discourse; and in this respect it matters not much who were contrivers of that Powder Plot, fince.

Brabantia Setie pro Cancel-Mart. Ant. Delrio Consiliario Regio.

fince it is out of question that it proceeded from the same principles with the rest.

1558.

began her Reign, not living out a year after, did not at all molest her. Nor did his Successor Pine Iv. whether being diverted by other business of nearer concern at home, in the Intrigues of the Councel of Trent, or by the means of Fer-

1566.

deeps, adoth eran Brahan.

Allow Carelle

Hier. Catena in vita Pii v.

Licenson ing He Alan LETE Eoithe to him

1569. Sanders 7. de

Thuanus t.46. visib. Monarch.

3. De Schifmate Angi.

25. Paulus IV. who was Pope when Queen Elizabeth dinand the Emperor then in hopes to marry his fon to her; but Pins v. who succeeded him, was no sooner fettled in that See, but he began to practise to unsettle her from her Throne; and to that end (as we are informed by Catena who was Secretary to his Nephew, Cardinal Alexandrino. and wrote his life ) he imployed one Robert Bidolph, a Gentleman of Florence, reliding here under pretente of Merchandife, to engage a party against the Queen; which he so effectually did, not only among the Papills , but Protestants alfo, that the Duke of Nonfolk was drawn into the Confpiracy. by promise of marriage with the Queen of Scott; and in the mean time he perswaded the Spaniard to affift the Conspirators; and at last to promote the business, sent over Doctor Nic. Morson to certain of the principal English Papilis, to denounce the Queen an Heretick, and therefore faln from 'all Power and Dominion, and by them to be accounted as a Heathen and a Publican, and they difobliged from her Laws and commands. Hereupon, (Chapinus Vitellius being first come over, under pretente of composing differences about Trade, to observe the success of the ensuing Rebellion, and to head the Spainards forces which were to be fent out of the Low-Countries ) the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland with 600. Horse and 4000. foot, rise in actual Rebellion, and Declare for the Restitution of the Roman Reli-'gion; but the rest of the Catholicks, says Sanders, becaule Sentence of Excommunication by the Pope was onot publickly Denounced against the Queen, nor did they frem absolved from her Obedience, not joyning with them, they were easily by the Queens forces chased 'into Scotland; where afterward Northumberband was taken, 'and brought back into England, and at Tork, by a Glorious '

1.33

ous Martyrdom, fays he, happily ended his days. And in this Rebellion, for the King of Spain, befides Vitellius and La Monthe Governour of Dunkirk, who came over in a common Sailers habit to found our Havens, the Duke of Bacon Observ. Alva his Lieutenant in the Low-Countries , and Don Guerres d'Efpees his Lieger Ambaffadour here, were discovered to be the Chief Instruments and Practifers. This Begin- Camd. Anno ning was immediately seconded by Leonard Dacres, but with 1569. like fucces and Interest An areason

26. But the Dake of Norfolk, and Bidolph, and others being a little before the Insurrection fecured upon some suspitions, and to prevented from appearing in the Rebellion, the bottom of the business was still undiscovered, they not long after released, and the Conspiracy still carried on. And the Pope, to prevent that failure for the future, which had been committed the year before, and to give more fatilfaction and encouragement to all good Catholicks to joyn in Rebellion against the Queen, in the entrance of the next year, fends out his Sentence of Anathema against her. Wherein he first fets out his own Title and Authority, in Sanders 2. De these words: He that reigneth on High, to whom is given all Schif. Angl. Power in Heaven and Earth, bath committed the One, Holy, Pag. 368. Casholick and Apostolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to One Alone on Earth, to wit, to the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, and to Peters Successor, the Bishop of Rome. to be governed in Plenitude of Power, &c. Next he acquaints us with his own great care and endeavours for the discharge of this great truff; then draws up a particular charge of feveral crimes and misdemeanors against Elizabeth pretended Queen of England, whom he calls the Servant or Slave of wickednes, Flagitiorum Serva. And therefore, faith he, Supported with his Anthority, who was pleased to place Us, shough unable for so great a burthen, in this Supreme Throne of Fastice, one of the Plenitude of Our Apostolical Power, We do Declare the aforesaid Elizabeth (being) a Heretick and Favonrer of Hereticks, and ber Adherents in the matters aforefaid, to have incurred the Sentence of Anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of Christ's Body; and Her to be Deprived

of her presended Right to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of All Do. minion, Dignity and Priviledge whatsoever; and also the Nobles, Subjects and People of the Said Kingdoms and All others. who have in any fort Sworn unto ber, to be for ever Absolved from the same Oath, and from All manner of Duty of Dominion, Fidelity, and Obedience; As we do by Authority of these presents Absolve Them, and Deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended Right to the Kingdom, and of all other things above faid. And we Command and Interdict All and Every the Noblemen, Subjects, People and others aforesaid, that they Presume not to Obey Her, or ber Monitions, Mandates and Laws. Those who shall do otherwise we Innodate in the like Sentence of Anathema. This was fent over, and toward the end of May affixed upon the Bishop of London's Palace Gates; and Copies of it to be dispersed through out England, sent to Bidolph; who, having by the Popes Order distributed 150000. Crowns (Aurea) among the Confederates, and all things here being again made ready against the Queen, is sent to acquaint the Pope with their preparations; which he approving presently sends him to the King of Spain; promising that, if need be, himself will go to their Assistance, and will pawn All the Goods of the Apostolick See, the Chalices, Crucifixes, and Sacred Vestments. Hereupon the Spaniard presently gives express Command that Vitellius with an Army shall Invade England; and the Pope prepares his money in the Low-Countries. But it pleased God that a messenger coming over with Letters to the Queen of Scots, the Spanish Ambassadour, Norfolk and others, being intercepted, the whole business is discovered, Norfolk and others committed, and all their Preparations and Hopes disappointed. Which, says Catena, the Pope took sadly, and the Spaniard condoled, who said before Cardinal Alexandrino the Popes Nephem, ( not long before fent to him f rom the Pope) that no Conspiracy was ever more advisedly undertaken, nor with greater unanimity and constancy concealed. Which in so long time was revealed by none of the confederates: and that the forces might eafily have been transported from the Low-Countries in the space of twenty four bours, which

might

1570.

Catena.

1571.

might have suprised the Queen and the City of London, reftored Religion, and setted the Queen of Scots in her Throne;
especially, when as Th. Stuckey an English sugitive had taken
upon him at the same time, with 3000. Spanish Souldiers,
to reduce all Ireland to the Obedience of Spain, and with
one or two scouting Ships, to fire the English Navy. The
Duke of Norfolk was brought to his Tryal the 16. of January
sollowing, and Condemned; and the 2. of June after bebeaded. The Pope in the mean time, the first of May, being
called to his tryal and to give an account for these things
before a far other Supreme Throne of Justice, than what he

pretended himfelf here placed in.

27. Before we leave this Pope Pius v. we may take notice of two notable borrid exploits, about his time practifed in our neighbour Countries; The first in Scotland; the murther of the Lord Darby, King Fames his father, in the first year of his Papacy, and the house wherein he was murthered at the fame time blown up with Gun-powder; in relation to which Thuanus tells us: Ad hec Pontificis, &, ut passim jactabatur, Caroli Lotaringi Cardinalis Literis incitabantur; nam cum per eum a Pontifice petiiffent pecuniam ad instaurandam majorum religionem, responsum fuerat, frustra ipsos conari, nisi sublatis iis, per quos stabat ne res exitum sortiretur. &c. lib. 40. ad finem Anni 1566. The other in France, that barbarous Massacre at Paris, which though not executed till near two moneths after this Popes death, yet it is observable that Cicarella notes in his life: Ad Regem Galliarum, ejusque Ministros optima misit documenta, ad eosdem Hereticos Regno illo exturbandos: and what these documenta were, we may the better guess, if we take notice of the temper and employments of this man; a most severe, austere man, who had with so much rigor exercised the business of the Inquifition wherein he was imployed, as made many dread his severity when he was chosen Pope. And the same Authour notes his irreconciliabile in Hereticos odium, though he looks upon it as matter of Commendation. But how exceeding mad he was against them, condemning and burning, even for familiarity with Sectaries or those that were suspected such,

1572.

76.

may be seen at large in the Noble Author de Thou. lib. 39 pr. And in both these exploits is observable, the Care that was taken to cast the Odium of the sact upon others. But to return to our own story;

28. After the death of this man, who thirteenth of the fame moneth was Gregory XIII chofen Pope. And although with their late disappointment, their parry also in Empland was much broken and disabled for the future, the chief heads being taken off processes it not long before this Pope was also engaged in the same Combination. Which was first begun between bein and Don Tohn of Auftria, bale brother to the King of Spain, and by him about that time appointed Governour of the Low-Countries, and in pursuance thereof. the Pope wrote to the King of Spain But Don John's Exploits were prevented by his own death before ever he could put them in practice. Yet the like Confidentions were foon refumed by the Pope and the King himfelf; and now England and Ireland both are to be invaded together, and Th. Sincley, whom the Pope had honoured with the Title of Marquels, Earl, Viscount and Baron of several eminent places in Ireland , is to command the forces thicher the Pope providing men, and the Spainard money. But this from was blown over into Africa, where Smeley and part of his men were flain. However the next year is fent into Ireland. from Spain, James Fitz Morice with fome Companies of Souldiers, and with them from the Pope Nic. Sanders, our Author above mentioned, with Authority Legatine and consecrated Banner: and to them the years after San Foseph with seven hundred Italian and Spanish Souldiers, and arms for five thousand more to arm the Irish, and some store of money; these being but \* the forerunners of a greater Power, which by treaty between the King of Spain and the Pope should have followed; and the Pope to animate the Irish, sends them his Breve, with Apostolical Benediction, wherein reciting that be had of late years by his Letters exborted them to the Recovery of their Liberty, and Defence of it against the Hereticks &c. and that they might more cheerfully do it,

had granted to all fuch as should be any ways assiting therein, a

Plenary

1576.

1578. Thu. lib. 65. Camd. hoc An.

1579: Thu. lib. 68.

1580. Thu. lib. 70.

\* Bacons Obfervations.

Ofullenan Hift. Cathol. Hibern.

Plenary Pardon and Forgiveness of All their Sins; he now grants to all fuch, whom be also exhorts, requires and urges in the Lord to indeavour to betp against the fail bereticks, the fame Plenary Indulgence and Remission of their Sins, which those who fight against the Turk do obtain. And to this expedition the Pope promifed a Crucias and 1000000 Aurea. But all thele with their frish Confederates, the Earl of Defmond, his brothers and their party, were very happily defeated by the Queens forces, at the very instant when divers thips upon the Sea were bringing them more forces and allist-ance; and the Popes Legare, Sanders, died milerably of hunger, and, as forme fay, mad upon the ill fuccels of the Rebellion.

29. About this time the Seminaries began to Swarm; and because the Bull of Pius v. had not yet sufficiently produced Sanders p. 372. its intended and expected effect even with a great part of Camd.p. 180. The Papifts themselves, who feeing the neighbour Popilh Princes and Provinces, not to abitein from their usual commerce with the Queen, continued still in their Obedience to her, and were offended at the Bull as a mischievous snare to them; therefore for their latisfaction it is Decreed at Rome, Thu.lib.74. that the Bell doth always Oblige Elizabeth and the Hereticks, Camd. an. 1580. bee Hot the Catholicks rebus fie frantibus, but only then, westen they Thould be table publickly to put it in execution. Affet that it might in due time be effectually Executed, Mif-Gons are made into England to Prepare a Party to adhere to Bacon Observ. the Spanjard at his coming to invade us. And the better to Collect. & concearand diffguile the Practice and make the Queen and Confid. her Councel the more fecure, it is Refolved not to bave any Head of the party here. But the Emifaries coming dayly over in various Difguised Habits, deal particularly, and so Camd. fine more effectually, with the people in their secret Conselli- Ann. 1580. ons, Absolving them particularly in private from Obedience and Fidelity to the Queen, as the Bull of Pius v. had done Camd. p.315. in publick, but only in general: and severally Engaging 343. them in that fecret manner, as hath been before mentioned, fo as none could be privy to others engagements. And thefe

Gamb. fin. An. Doctrines were every where inculcated : That Princes not pro-1581. Thu.l.74. fessing the Roman Religion, are fallen from their Title and Roy-

al Authority. 2. That Princes Excommunicate, are not to be Obeyed, but thrown out of their Kingdoms ( and that it is a meritorious work to do is. ) 3. That the Clergy are exempt from the Jurisdiction of Secular Princes, and are not bound by their Laws. 4. That the Pope of Rome bath the Chief and Full Power and Authority over All, throughout the mbole world, even in Civil matters. 5 That the Magistrates of England are not Lawful Magistrates, and therefore not to be accounted Magiftrates at all. 6. That mhat ever, fince the Bull of Pius v. was published ( which some hold to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost ) bath by the Queens Authority been acied in England, is by the Law of God and Man to be reputed altogether void and null. These Doctrines thus secretly inttilled into mens minds in private, were seconded with several pernitious Books in print, against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate. And as well to deter the reft from Obedience, and move them to Expectation of Change, and Reconciliation to the Church of Rome, as to encourage their Gamd.an. 1580 own party, they not only by Rumours, but also by printed Books gave out, that the Pope and King of Spain had conspired to subdue England and take it for a prey. This is true, fays Sir Fr. Bacon, and witnessed by the Confessions of many, that almost all the Priests, which were sent into this Kingdom from that year 1581. to the year 1588. (at what time the Defign of the Pope and Spain was put in Execution ) had in their Instructions, besides other parts of their Function, to distil and infinuate into the People these Particulars; It was impossible things should continue at this stay; They should fee ere long a great change in this State; That the Pope and Catholick Princes, were careful for the English, if theywould not be wanting to themselves. Which are almost the very words of Sanders mentioning the confiderations upon which

these Seminaries were at first founded. But notwithstanding this, we are not to think that All the Priests which were

fent over, were acquainted with the Arcana and Secrets of

the D.fign, but only the Superiours and some of the best

qualin

1. 318.

Collect of the Churches.

Camd. an.81. Tou. 11b. 74. Bac. Collect.

qualified for the bufiness, who managed and steered the actions of the reft, according to their private Inftructions.

30. Hereupon, fays Rishton, who published and inlarged Sanders his book, speaking of these Missions, soon after enfued a great change of minds, and wonderful encrease of Religion. Which, that we may know it by its Fruits, prefently appeared in several desperate attempts and Resolutions to Rill the Queen. First, by Somervil, who being taken and condemned with Hall a Priest and others whom he confessed, was three days after found strangled in the prison, for fear, probably, least he should have discovered others. Then, to pass by the practise of Bern. Mendoza the Spanish Ambassadour Lieger here with Throgmorton, and Martins book, by William Parry Dollor of Law, encouraged thereunto by Ben. Palmius a Jesuite, Ragazonius the Popes Nuncio in Thu. lib. 79. France, Cardinal Como, and the Pope himself, who sends him his Benediction, Plenary Indulgence and Remission of all his Sins, and affures him, that besides his Merit which he shall have in Heaven, his Holiness will remain his debtor, to acknowledge his desert in the best manner he can: and after all this very much excited to it by Dr. Allens Book, which, faith he, teacheth, that Princes Excommunicate for herefie are to be deprived of their Kingdoms and Lives. All which Parry confessed, produced the Letter from the Pope written by Cardinal Como, and was executed in March 1584. and the Pope loon after, in April, was called to account. in another world. Immediately before this in Thuanus precedes the relation of the murther of the Prince of Aurang 10. Jul. by Bal. Gerard confirmed in his resolution by a Jesuite at Treves, promiting him if he dyed for it, he should be happy and be put in the number of Martyrs, and also encouraged to it by a Franciscan at Tourney, and three other Jesuites at Treves.

31. To Gregory succeeded, as well in his practises, as in that See, Sixius v. chosen Pope the twenty fourth of the same moneth of April, and about this time John Savage, into whose head the Doctrines that it is meritorious to Kill Ex1583.

1584.

1585. .

1586.

communicated Princes, and Martyrdom to die for so doing, being by the Giffords and Hodgeson priests throughly inculcated, made a vow to kill the Queen. And soon after the same resolution is taken up by Antony Babington, a proper young gentleman of a good family, upon the lame principles in like manner inculcated, and fomewhat enforced with other hopes if he escaped the danger, by Ballard a Tesuite, who incited him to it, as not only Just and Holy in it self, but moreover Honourable and Profitable to him, if be should overcome the difficulty. For what could be more Just and Holy, than with the hazard of his Life to vindicate his Countrey, and the Cause of Religion, without which Life it self ought to be nothing esteemed of. Elizabeth was now long since, by the Lawful Successor of Peter, cast out of the Communion of the Church: from that time the doth not reign in England, but, by a usurped Pomer contrary to the Laws, exercise a cruel Ty ranny against the true Worshippers of God. Whoever should kill her, dotb no more than be that should flay a profane. Heathen or some damned accursed creature: be bould be free from all sin either against God or Man; yea would merit a Crown of Glory: and if he survived the enterprise, should doubtless obtain a great reward: under the notion of Reward not obscurely infinuating his marriage with the Queen of Scots. Thus is this Jefuites discourse with him represented by the Excellent Thumus who there informs us that this bufinels was transacted withthe Spanish Ambassadour Mendoza, and was to have been seconded by a forrein Army, and Pager a gentleman of a Noble family fent into Spain about it. And at last all things, being agreed on both at home and abroad, the day appointed for the perpetrating the business is S. Bartholomens day, memorable for the Parisian Massacre fourteen years since, and for that reason purposely made choice of. But before the day came, the business being detected, Ballard and Babington, and several other of the Conspirators were apprebended; whereof some had sworn to be the Executioners of the Queens murther, and among them Savage now again swore it, and others were to be of the party, which the while was to rescue the Queen of Scots; and upon their own Confessions

fessions and Letters intercepted, were Convicted, Condemned and Executed. And in this Conspiracy was a project of making an Affociation under pretente of fear of the Punitans. These were executed but the twentieth of September and in Fanuary following was the French Ambaladour l'Aubastineus, a man wholly devoted to the Guisian Faction, and Lieger here, projecting the same bufiness; and to that Camb.an. 150 purpose treated with William Stafford, a Gentleman of a Noble Family, to kill the Queen, at first more covertly, but afterward more openly by his Secretary, who promiled him great Honours pa huge finner of Money, great Favour with the Rope, the Duke of Guife and all the Catholicks. Stafford refuled it himself, but commended to him one Moody; and in Consultation how to do it, Moody proposes to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed-chamber, and fegretly give fire to it. But this being discovered by Staffordsthe Secretary thinking to be gone into France was intercepted and upon his examination confessed the whole matter.

32. Hitherto had the Actors and Abettors of most of these Conspiracies, to put the better Colour upon their unjustifiable attempts, belides the Caule of Religion, prefended also the Title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England, Camb.an. 1586 who having been discovered to be privy to most of the former, and found guilty of that of Babington, was therefore condemned; and now this being found to have been deligned upon the same pretense, Queen Elizabeth, by great importunity of the Parliament, who had confirmed the Sentence, was prevailed with to fign a Warrant for the Execution, whereupon the was beheaded the eighth of February following. And here we must not omit a Notable Artifice of the Festites, who being at last out of hope of Restoring their Religion by Her or Her Son; began to set up a feigned Title for the King of Spain, and imployed one of their Society into. England (as is discovered by Pasquier a French Writer) to draw off the Gentry from Her to the Spaniard, and to thrust ber headlong into those dangerous Counsels which brought Her to Her end : and at the same time, least

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the Guises her kindred should give her any assistance, stirring Them up to new enterprises against the King of Navarre and Conde. And agreeable hereunto was the discovery of that for which the was condemned, viz. by Gilbert Gifford a Priest then sent over into England, to immind Savage of his Vow, and to be the Letter carrier between the Queen of Scots and the Confederates, who presently goes and offers his Service to the Secretary Walfingham to discover them; (and that forfooth out of Love to his Prince and Countrey, although he had not long before been one of those who provoked Savage to his vow to kill her, ) and accordingly he first conveyes them to Walfingbam; by whom they are opened, transcribed and carefully sealed up again and returned to Gifford, who then conveys them to the Queen of Scots, Babington or who ever else they are directed to; which is so plain a profecution of the same defign, that it is a wonder that Camden should be so much at a loss to find out the mystery of this undertaking of the Priest. More might be observed to manifest this Juggle, if it were necessary to the present business.

33. The Defign of the Pope and Spaniard to Invade England had been now long fince perceived bere, not so much by printed books, which were defigned only to work upon the vulgar and their own party, as by the fecret Letters of Morton and others which were intercepted, and Chringbton the Scotch Jesuit's papers, miraculously, as himself acknowledged, when by him torn and thrown into the Sea, blown back into the Ship wherein he was taken. But now their preparations being in good forwardness as well for the affault from abroad by their Navy and Army, as for their reception and admission here by their party prepared by their Agents the Emissaries, the better to disguise the business and to make the Queen and her Counsel the more se-Camb. an. 1586 cure, they not only publish a Book, wherein the Papists in England are admonished not to attempt any thing against their Prince, but to fight only with the weapons of Christians, Tears, Spiritual Arguments, Sedulous Prayers, Watch-

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ings,

ings, Fasting, but also a Treaty of Peace is earnestly Sollicited Thu. lib. 89. by the Duke of Parma with Authority from the King of Camd.an.1588 Spain, which though not soon yielded to by the Queen, who suspected some fraud or deceitful design in it, yet being at last obtained, is kept on foot till the engagement of both fleets break it off in the famous year of 88. At which time all the preparations being fully compleated for execution, the Pope, who had before promised the affistance of his Treasure, begins first to thunder out bis Bull : Which, with a book written by Doctor Allen, is printed at Antwerp in English in great numbers to be fent over into England; in which book, for the greater terrour of the people, are particularly related their vast preparations, which were so great, that the Spaniards themselves being in admiration of them, named it the Invincible Armado; and the Nobility, Gentry and people of England and Ireland are exhorted to joyn themselves with the Spanish Forces under the conduct of the Duke of Parms for the Execution of the Popes Sentence against Elizabeth. With this Bull is Dr. Allen, (being, extraordinarily + out + Thu. 1. 100. of the time allowed by the Canons even of this Pope, made \* Thu. 1.89. Cardinal of purpose for this exploit ) fent into Flanders, to be ready, \* upon the Spaniards Landing, to pass over into Some such Of-England, as the Popes Legate eum plena potestate, and here ficer we may to publish the Bull, 'In which Bull the Pope, by the suppose was power, which he faith is, from God, by the Lawful fuc- intrusted with cession of the Catholick Church, descended to him over the three Bree All persons, for several causes there in specified, and more were in like fully expressed in the Bulls of Pius v. and Gregory XIII. manner fent doth again proscribe the Queen; Takes away all her Royal to be in readi-Dignity, Titles and Rights to the Kingdoms of England and ness to be sent Ireland; Declaring her Illegitimate and a Usurper of those lished in the Kingdoms; Absolving her Subjects from their Oath of Popes name in Faith and Obedience to her; Threatens All of what con- three principal dition soever, under danger of the wrath of God, not to places of this Kingdom, aflift her in any wise after notice of this Mandate, but to soon as the

1588.

was discharged and had done its execution, as Bishop Andrews reports from the Spontaneous confession of a Jesuit at the time of his writing, who was then here in prison. Refoons, ad Apol. Bellarm, cap. 5. pag. 113.

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'imploy all their power to bring her to Condigne punishment; Commands All Inhabitants of those Kingdoms diligently to execute these Mandates, and as foon as they have certain notice of the Spaniards coming, to joyn all their forces with them, and in all things be obedient to Parma, the King of Spain's General; and laftly, Proposing Ample Reward to those who shall lay hands upon the proscribed Woman and deliver her to the Catholick party to be punished, in conclusion, out of the Treasury of the Church com-'mitted to his Trust and Dispensation, he draws out his treasure, and Grants a Full Pardon of All their Sins to All those who should engage in this expedition. This Thuanus relates more at large, and prefently adds: It was agreed in fecret that King Philip Should bold the Kingdom, when reduced to the Obedience of the Church, of the Pope in Fee as of the Holy See, according to the Articles of the contract by Ina, Henry 2. and King John made and renewed, with the Title of Defender of the Faith. And to reduce it to this Obedience, these were the forrein Preparations which were made according to Thusnus bis Account: A Navy of 150. \* Ships extraordinarily den, fays cica- well furnished; and in it of Mariners and Seamen 8000. Gally flaves, a great number, 2080, fays Camden, of Souldiers 20000. besides Gentlemen and Voluntiers; for Carce was there any family of note in Spain, which had not fon, or brother or cousin in that fleet; Brass Guns 1600, Iron Guns 1050. Of Powder, Bullet, Lead, Match, Muskets, Pikes, Spears and fuch like weapons, with other instruments and official para will at arow. engines, great abundance, as also of Horses and Mules, democraticae and Provisions for fix moneths. And that nothing might be -ihior i so on wanting as to matters of Religion, they brought along with mes obefers them the Vicar General of the Sacred Office, as they call it, ·duo. Java tava that is the Inquisition, and with him of Capucines, Jesuites Sold of hadde and Mendicants, above 100. And besides all these, were higher of total prepared in Flanders and those parts, by the Duke of Parma, aid - 0 1 4 of Flat-bottomed Boats for transportation of men and Horse and the ground I other necessaries 288. of Vessels for Bridges fitted with all Post moloc things necessary, 800. and of Armed men 20000. 50000 Veterane Souldiers fays Sir Fr. Bacon. But all these preparaenous of the selferest cap. 5. pay. 123.

\* Of vast burrella, besides an infinite 02 number of imall thipsi In vita Sixti v.

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1. March 1. 0

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tions and forces were not greater, than was the Spaniard expectation and confidence of an afford Victory and Absolute Conquest of this Kingdom's and that not only in respect of the firength and greatness of their Forces, though to great that in admiration of this Navy, they named it, as hath been faid, The Invincible Armado: and fo was it called in a Spanish oftentation throughout Europe, and hath indeed been thought the greatest Navy that till that time ever swam upon the Sea; though not for number, yet for Bulk and Building of the Ships, with the Furniture of great Ordnance and Provisions. But that which very much heightened their Confidence, was the supposed Goodness of their Canse, and presumption of the Divine assistance accordingly favouring them in it, and thereby fignally ratifying the Sentence of Christs Vicar, this being affigned as an Apostolical Mission against the Incorrigible and Excommunicate Hereticks to reduce them to the Obedience of the Catholick Church ( of Rome, ) and to execute his Holines's Sentence of Excommunication against that accurred Anathematized woman; (though this, that we may note it by the way; was properly and anciently reputed, the Office only of Satan and his Angels and Miniflers, and never taken out of their hands till Pope Gregory VII. after above a thousand years exercise of it, by the Plenitude of his Power, took upon him to dispose, as it feems, of the Kingdom of Darkness, as well as of the Empires and Kingdoms of the Earth.) But the Judgement of Heaven was contrary to their expectations; and as the Scripture tells us The Curse Causeles shall not come, so it pleased God to turn their curse into a Blessing. For with this Monstrous Navy, though the Spaniards perswaded themselves, that the English terrified with the fight of it, would not dare to affail it, but only failing at a distance, observe their Course, and the while give Parma an opportunity, without difficulty; to wast Thu. p. 253! over his Forces and pour them in upon London, yet did the English, though, through the abuse of that fraudulent Treaty, and some reports of the Spaniards not coming out that year at the instant purposely cast abroad, not altogether ready and prepared, couragiously engages and in few days,

having taken and sent home two of their great ships, so difiressed this Great Navy, that they were forced to sly, and having chased them toward the North until, for want of Powder, they were forced to give them over, returned home with the loss not of an hundred men, and but of one Ship; while these Executioners of the Popes Anathema, according to the Curse in the Scriptures, came out against us one way.

Camd. p 533.

Thu. p. 255.

and fled before us feven ways, being driven about all Brisain, by Scotland, the Orcades, Ireland, grievously afflicted with Tempelts, Shipwracks, and all kind of Miseries, and very much curtailed; and at last Resolving in Councel, that, for as much as the Heavens and the Sea being their Enemies, their condition was now fuch as by no Humane Strength. Virtue or Counsel, could be restored, every one should return into Spain which way he could, and all meet at a place appointed: they accordingly held their Course for Spain, and many by Tempests and other misfortunes being lost by the way, the rest returned with Ignominy and Disgrace: having lost as the Spaniards write, faith Thuanus, 32. Ships, 10000. Men, and 1000. more carried Captive into England; but as the English and Dutch write, above 80. Ships. and as some of their own say, the greatest part of that so Glorious Fleet: which had been the preparations of five whole years at the least, ( fays Bacon ) through Spain Italy, Sicily, Flanders, their most expert Commanders and Veteran Souldiers, being fent for even out of America, and had coft. before ever they fet out to fea, not so little as 12000000 aurea (centies vicies centena millia aureorum) as appeared by their books of account, as the Spanish Ambassadour informed the French King in the hearing of Thuanus.

Cicarel. in vita Sixti v.

Camd. pag. 513. 516.

34. Notwithstanding this defeat of his Military Forces, after so great preparations, and that with so great expense of his Treasure, yet it seems the King of Spain was so well pleased with the proceedings of his Agents the Emissaries here, that he thought good to erect another Colledge for them the next year, and, that they might not be far from his Court, at Villadolita. Which in short time, about two

years .

years after, , sent out a Mission into England, the Emissaries coming over in the Disguised Habits of Seamen, Merchants, Souldiers, &c. In the mean time Sixtus v. dyed about 27. Thu. 1. 100. ] Aug. 1590 in so great barred of the people, for his intolerable Exactions & New Impositions, that there was presently in the vacancy a concourse of the people to throw down the Statue which in his life time was erected for him in the Capitol. At Cicarel. in vibis Election, the Cardinals in the Conclave were all first form, ta ejus. that whoever of them should be chosen Pope, among other things for the Benefit of (their) Religion, the Dignity of the Holy See, and the Splendour of the Sacred Colledge (of Cardinals, ) (hould to the best of his Power, Engage the Catholick Princes to fight against the Turk, Hereticks and Schismaticks. And how well this man being chosen prosecuted the defign of his Oath, may be understood in part by what hath been faid already, and may be further feen in his dealings with our Neighbours in France. Whereof an instance or two by the way, and a word or two of his quality and manners, will not be much beside our purpose. He had his Original, as himself used to glory, from an Illustrious House; for, for want of Covering, it was in all parts illustrated by the Sun-beams; being born of poor parents in a pittiful Cottage. But his good qualities were must conspicuous after his Election to the Papacy, being a most Imperious, Proud, Ambitious, Vain-glorious, Gluttonous, Covetous, Unjust, Revengeful, Inhumane, and rashly severe man, the contraries whereof, by a special faculty of Dissimulation, he had before fimulated, as he is described by Thuanus and Cicarella in his life. He began the exercise of bis Authoritywith a rash and unjust condemnation of a young man of Flo- Thu. 1.82. Cicarence to be hanged, for only refusing in his Masters house to rel. in vita. deliver an Ass to the Popes Officers, which was not his in whose name they demanded it, but the young mans master's, all men pittying the hard case of the poor fellow. Nor was this dealing used only with men of inferiour quality; for by his command the Cardinal Saluiato at Bononia, having fummoned Count John Pepulus, a man of prime Nobility and of no less Piety and Probity, for entertaining certain Gentlemen who -

who were exiles, in some places, out of the Popes Territories, which were anciently granted to him by the Emperor, when he pleaded a Prescription of the Emperors Priviledge, caused him in the night to be pulled out of his own house, and, having a Priest ready to confess him, presently to be strangled. And that we may see how well he could use both swords, in the beginning also of his Papacy, he sent out his Excommunication against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde; after a glorious Preface concerning the Authority given to Peter and his Succeffors, far above all the Powers of Earthly Kings and Princes, which never swerves from right judgment, Declaring them to be Secturies, and publick and manifest Favourers and Defenders of Sectaries; guilty of high treason against the Divine Majesty, and Enemies of the Catholick Faith; to be faln from all Right of Dignity; and them and their Successors to be unworthy to succeed in any principality, particularly in the Kingdom of France: Absolving their Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity; and laftly Exhorting the King of France to be mindful of his Oath at his Coronation, and to Extirpate all the feeds of the Sectaries. And we may suppose that he was true to his Oath and the Interest of his Sec, when he deceived the expectations of the Leaguers in France and their affishants the Spaniard, least, as Cicarella notes, if the King of France and his party should have been overcome by the Assistance of Spain, the Spaniard might take the advantage of it to enlarge his own Dominions too much, which might have proved dangerous to the Holy See. But he made them amends for it afterward, though without any expense of his Treasure, for he fent out his Excommunication against the King of France himself, although a man of an irreconcilable hatred against the Protestants, and who had been a promoter of the Parisian Masfacre, unless within ten days he should set at liberty the Cardinal Bourbon, whom the Rebels defired to make head of ed, & his after their party. This was published in May, and the I. of August after, was the King murthered by fames Clement a Facobin, who was thus resolved in the Case by the \* Prior of his Covent, that if be undertook it, not out of hatred or defire

Thu. l. 96. \* F. Edm. Burgoin, who was afterwards excuted for it, drawn in pieces by four horses, his quarters burnscattered in the wind. Danita, l. 10. p. 857.

fire of private revenge, but inflamed with the love of God, for Religion and the good of his Country, he might not only do it with a lafe Confcience, but should merit much before God, and without doubt if he fould die in the act bis foul would afcend to the Quires of the Bleffed; and as some say he was likewife encouraged by F. Commeles and other lesuites. This fact of Clement was highly excolled in France both in Sermons and Printed books: and the Leaguers had that opinion of his Martyrdom ( for he was prefently killed in the place, and ... afterward pulled to pieces and his body burned ) that they came to the place, and scraped up the very dust and earth whereon any of his blood lighted as Sacred Relicks, and put it into a Vessel in which they came, intending to carry it to Paris, and there creek a Monument of his Martyrdom ad adorationem; but by a vehement wind, which fuddenly arole, both veffel and paffengers were all drowned, not one escaping, and the relicks cast away. Nor was the fact less extolled at Rome, even by the Pope himself, in a Premeditated Speech in the Confistory, wherein he not only preferred that wicked wretch before Eleazar and Judith, but most impiously and blasphemously compared his fact, for the greatnels and admirableness of it, to the Mystery of the Incarnation and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. The King had caused the Duke of Guise, who was head of the Rebels, to be flain; and this was one main matter, which incensed the Pope against him. For the Pope had agreed with Guise in Thu. 1. 94. fecret, to marry his Niece to the Prince of Jonvil, Guise his fon and heir, and to depose the King, thrust him into a Morastery, and compel him by the Popes authority to renounce his right to the Kingdom, and to let up Guise the father, King in his place. But how zealous and jealous he was for the Dignity and Authority of the Holy See, is worth our further notice, in an instance related by a good Catholick, the learned Civil Lawyer William Barclay, in his book De Potestate Papa dedicated to Pope Clement VIII. None of all the writers of the Popes part, Saith be, bath either more diligently collected, or more ingeniously proposed, or more smartly and subtilely concluded their reasons and arguments for the Popes ..

Popes Authority than the Eminent Divine Bellarmine, who although be attributed as much as with bonefty be could, and indeed more than be ought to have done, to the Authority of the Pope in Temporals, yet could be not fatisfie the Ambition of that most Imperious man Sixtus v. who affirmed that he held a Supreme Power, over All Kings and Princes of the whole Earth and all People and Nations, delivered to bim, not by bumane, but Divine Institution. In so much, that he was very near, by bis Papal Censure; to bave abolished, to the great detriment of the Church, all the works of that Doctor, which at this day oppose beresie with very great success, as the Fathers of that Order of which Bellarmine was, have seriously told me, cap. 12. But enough of Sixes; By whom, for example, we may guels, by these fruits, what likelyhood there is, that he and such as he whereof there hath been no small number Popes, since the tenth Age especially ( that Seculum Infelix, when with a great Ecliple of Learning, the Popes of Rome, as even Bellarmine noteth; degenerated from the Piety of the Ancients) were partakers of, and directed by that Holy Spirit, which God giveth to them that obey him, to conduct them in alltruth, or rather the Spirit of the world, the Spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience, whose works they have done.

35. The three next succeeding Popes, Urban 7. Gregory 14. and Innocent 9. did not all of them live out half three years 1591. from the death of this; and therefore we cannot expect to hear of any attempts or defign of theirs against this Kingdom. But after Clement VIII. who was elected Pope 3. 1592. Feb. 159!. was settled in his seat, the like practises soon began again, wherein those agents whom we have mentioned 1593.

before, Hesket, Lopez and, Complices his Cullen, York and 1594. Williams (who confessed some others) and Squire, were imployed to raise rebellion, poison or affassinate the Queen; Lopez by the King of Spain's Ministers of State, not without the privity and consent of himself; all the rest incited and encouraged by the Jesuites, who for the like practiles at the fame time against the most Christian King, though then become Catholick too, were exterminated out of all France,

Tou. 1. 111.

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and a Pyramid erected for their perpetual Infamy. But from all these God still preserved her, the Emissaries being discovered, taken and Executed. Nor did he only preserve her from their attempts, but shortly after bleffed her with happy successes in an Expedition against the Spaniards then preparing again to Invade England; wherein the King of Spains Navy of Bacon Observ! 50. tall Ships, befides twenty Gallies to attend them, were beaten and put to flight, and in the end all, but two which were taken by the English, burned, only the twenty Gallies, by the benefit of the Shallows, escaping: the town of Cadiz, manned with 4000. foot and 400, horse, taken fack'd and burnt but great Clemency used toward the inhabitants: and at last the English returning home with ho- Camdan. 1595. nour and great spoils, besides the two Gallions, and about 100. great brass Guns and great store of ammunition and provisions of war taken in the town, and with very small loss, and but of one person of quality: the Spaniards having loft in all first and last, 13. of their best men of war. and 44. other Ships of great burden, and in Ships, great guns and military provisions, by the estimate of the most knowing persons above 3000000 ducates. And when the King of Spain not long after, that he might repair this loss, in a heat had from all parts gathered together all the Ships he could, and manned even the strangers Ships which were in the Ports of Spain, and fet out this Navy to Land upon the Coasts either of England or Ireland, the Heavens fought for her, and so savoured her, that by a horrid tempeft which arose, most of those Ships were either sunk by the waves, or broken against the rocks, in so much that the fooner heard of the destruction of her enemies, than of their fetting out to Sea to affault her. The year ensuing, great preparations were made on both sides, but the Heavens not favoring any further proceedings of this kind, both the Fleets were fo dispersed by florms, that neither came within fight of the other. And now the King of Spain became well inclined to a peace with England, which, though proposed by the French, he lived not to fee brought to effect, for he died the 13. of Sept. after.

1596.

1597.

36. But the death of the King of Spain did not dissolve the Combination, no more than the deaths of fo many feveral Popes before had done. For it still survived in his son Phil. 171. mith Clement VIII. Only so many former attempts having proved altogether unsuccessful against England, there was now with the persons some change also of their Counfels; and all their Consultations against England, were afterward so directed as to depend for their execution upon the death of the Oveen. Yet in Ireland there feemed some hopes that something might be effected at present, by affishing the Rebels there; and therefore for their encouragement and affistance, the King of Spain by his Agent Don Martin de la Cerda, sends them money and Ammunition; and the Pope, by Mathew de Oviedo, whom he designed Archbishop of Dublin, Promises of Indulgence, with a Phenix plume to Tir-Oen their General; and the year after, he fends them his Indulgence it felf, to this effect, That whereas of long time, being led on by the Exhortations of his Predecessors and bimself and of the Apostolick See, for the recovery and defence of their Liberty against the Hereticks, they had with United minds and Forces, given aid and affiftance, first to James Fitz Girald, and lastly to Hugh Onel Earl of Tyron Captain General of the Catholick Army in Ireland, who with their Souldiers had in process of time performed many brave atchievements, fighting manfully against the enemy, and for the future are ready to perform the like; that they may all the more cheerfully do it, and affift against the Said Hereticks, being willing after the example of his Predecessors to vouch afe them some Spiritual Graces and Favours, be favourably grants to all and every one who shall joyn with the said Hugh and his Army afferting and fighting for the Catholick Faith, or any way aid or affift them, if they be truly penitent and have confessed, and if it may be, received the Sacrament, a Plenary Pardon and Remission of All their Sins; the same which used to be granted by the Popes of Rome to those who go to war against the Turks. (18. April 1600. Camd. p. 750. Foul. p. 651. ) And the next year again for . their further encouragement, he sends a particular letter to Tyrone, wherein he Commends their Devotion, in engaging

1599.

1600.

in a Holy League, and their valour and atcheivements; Exhorts them to continue unanimous in the same mind; and Promises to write effectually to his Sons, the Catholick Kings and Princes, to give all manner of Assistance to them and their cause; and tells him, he thinks to fend them a peculiar Nuncio, who may be helpful to them in all things as occasion-shall serve. (20. Fan. 1601. Fonl. p. 655.) The King of Spain likewise sends bis Affistance; a great fleet, who landed at King-Sale 20. Sept. under the conduct of Don John d'Aquila; who fets out a Declaration, shewing the King of Spain's pretente in the war, which, he faith, is with the Apostolick Authority to be administred by him; that they perswade not any to deny due Obedience (according to the word of God ) to their Prince, but that all know, that for mamy years fince, Elizabeth was deprived of her Kingdom, and All her Subjects Absolved from their Fidelity, by the Pope; unto whom he that reigneth in the Heavens, the King of Kings, buth committed All Power, that be should Root up, Destroy, Plant and Build, in such sort, that be may punish temporal Kings (if it should be good for the Spiritual Building) even to their Deposing; which thing hath been done in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland by many Popes, viz. by Pope Pius v. Gregory XIII. and now by Clement VIII. as is well known, whose Bulls are extant: that the Pope and the King of Spain have refolved to fend Souldiers, Silver, Gold, and Arms with a most liberal hand: that the Pope Christs Vicar on Earth, doth command them (the Papists in Ireland) to take Arms for the defense of their Faith, &c. (Camd. p. 829. Foul. 658.) And not long after more Supplies were fent from Spain under Alonfo de Ocampo. But it pleased God to make the Queen fill Victori- Thu.l. 123.Cam. ous over All; and part of them, with the Irish Rebels, be- an. 1601 & ing beaten and routed in the Field, the rest are brought to 1602. articles, upon which they Surrender All, and are fent home, when more forces were coming from Spain to their recruit. The next year most of the other Rebels being defeated and Subdued, last of all Mac Eggan, the Popes Vicar Apostolick, with a party of the Rebels, which he himself led, with his Sword drawn in one hand, and his Breviary and Beads in the

the other, was slain by the Queens forces and the Rebels routed in January 1603. and so the whole Kingdom, Tyrone also submitting to mercy, totally subdued. (Cand.

an. 1603. Foul. p. 664.)

37. And now this Bleffed Queen, having by an Admirable Providence of Almighty God, been Preserved from All these both Secret Conspiracies, and Open Invasions, through a long Reign of four and forty years compleat, and made victorious over All her Enemies, as well abroad as at home: Out-lived her great and bitter enemy Phil. 11. King of Spain, who himself lived to be sensible of the Divine Judgment of the Iniquity of his Actions against her, and to defire a Peace with her, though he lived not to enjoy it : Out-lived four Kings of France, eight Popes, and the greatest part of the ninth: and maugre all the Powers of Hell, the Malice and Wicked Machinations of Men of most turbulent and Anti-christian Spirits, Defended that Purity of Religion, which, even at the very beginning of Her Reign, she had, with Mature Deliberation, and a Generous and most Christian Courage and Resolution, notwithstanding all Difficulties and Dangers which on every fide threatened her undertakings, established, was by the same at last brought to her Grave in Peace, in a Good Old Age. Her very Encmies admiring, as well her Worth and Excellence, as her Glory and Felicity; ( see the one extolled by Sixtus y. Thu. 1.82. p. 48. and the other by An. Atestina, 1, 129. and both more largly described by the Noble and Ingenuous Thuanus 1. 129. and Sir Francis Bacon in his Collection of her Felicities ) while ber Neighbours, who wickedly and barbarously persecuted the Professors of that Reformed Religion, for their Religion sake, which she with great and Christian Moderation towards the adversaries of it, happily established and defended, either lived not out half their days, or died violent deaths, and were murthered by their own Subjects of the same Religion with themselves, or were otherwise unhappy in their attempts in that Eminently Remarkable manner, as is so far from being impertinent to our subject and design briefly to note, that it would be a great fault and

and unworthy neglect not to do it. Certainly who ever shall impartially, and without prejudice consider the History of this bleffed and happy Queen, and with it compare the History of the Times both precedent and subsequent to her reign, and especially of her neighbours in France during her own times, must needs acknowledge, not only an Admirable Providence over Her, in both Preserving and Bleffing her in all her Affairs, but a Special Distinguishing Providence, thus favouring her, and at the same time in a very remarkable manner dif-favouring, Croffing, Blafting and Severely Punishing and Revenging the different and contrary Courses and Practises of her Neighbours and others.

38. We might here remember the Story of Don Sebastian King of Portugal, who in the heat of his youth and devotion to the See of Rome, had tendered his service to the Pope, and engaged in an Expedition against England and Ireland: but having raised a great Army and prepared a great Fleet, was by the King of Fesse prevailed with to assist him in the recovery of his Kingdom in Mauritania. Where, with Stukely, (who commanded the Italian Forces railed by the Pope and King of Spain, for the service against Ireland) whom he perswaded to go with him first to the African war, he was flain, dyed without iffue, and left his Kingdom a prey to the Spaniard; whereby not only the present storm which threatned the Queen was blown over, but the Spaniard also for divers years diverted, by his wars with Poringal from molesting the Queen in that manner, which otherwise 'tis likely he would have done, and from some such Invasion as, though then intended, was not actually undertaken till ten years after. We might here also remember Don John of Austria, in the heat of his eager designs upon England, cut off by the Plague, in the flower of his age; if his heart Thuan. was not broken, as was thought, by the disappointment of his ambitious designs, after he had fouly, by the Popes Raleigh. Dispensation, fallified his Oath taken to observe the Treaty made with the States General. And we might here likewife

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Raleigh.

wife take notice, not only of what some may think observable in the Death of the King of Spain, if not devoured, yet in a great measure wasted and consumed by Lyce bred in his own body, which in so great quantities issued out of four several tumours in his breast, as that it was as much as two men, by turns, could do, to wipe them off from him with napkins and cloathes: but of that which others may think more remarkable in his Life, which is, that having twice most solemnly Sworn to the States General of the Low-Countries (over which he held only a kind of Seigniory) to Maintain their Ancient Rights, Priviledges and Customes, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him; and afterwards obtained from the Pope a Dispen-Sation of his Oathes ( which Dispensation, says Sir Walter Rawleigh, was the true cause of the war and Blood-shed fince) when he fought contrary to bis Oathes and all Right and Justice, not only by new devised and intolerable Impofitions, to tread their National and Fundamental Laws, Priviledges and Ancient Rights under his feet, and both by Arts, (dividing their Nobility,) and by Force, to enflave their Persons and Estates, and make himself Absolute; but moreover by introducing among them, the Exercise of the Spanish Inquisition, to Tyrannize also over their Consciences: and in pursuance hereof had committed many barbarous Murders and Massacres among them; by the Just Providence of God, he was thrown out of all, and those Rights and Priviledges, which he fought to abolish, and that Religion which he fought to oppress, were by that people retained and enjoyed with greater freedom and liberty than ever; fo that in conclusion the recompense of that oppression and cruelty which he exercised upon them, was the loss of those Countries, which, says Raleigh, for beauty, gave place to none, and for revenue, did equal his West-Indies, besides the loss of an hundred millions of money, and of the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, by him cast away in his endeavours to enslave them. If besides this we reflect upon his many and various attempts against the Queen of England, some of them with so great study and valt

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vast expense of his Treasure; his unhappy Wars in aid of the Rebels in France, which his ambitious hopes had no less devoured, than they had England; all of them unsuccessful and remarkably blasted, and himself at last so weary of them, that he was glad to defire peace with both; his fruitless masting of 5594. Myriads of Gold, as himself confessed, without any other profit, than the acquest of Portugal, which he thought might be as eafily loft as his hopes of the Kingdom of France had fuddenly vanished, and however was sufficiently ballanced with his loss in Africa and elsewhere; the death of his eldest son, by his own command, as the lesuite \* Petavius saith expresly, and the less of all his \* 9. Ration. other fons, fave only Phil. 111. who succeeded him, and was Temp. 12. the only fon of all his four wives, who furvived him; If we ferioufly, I say, reflect upon all these, we may look upon the prolongation of his life, in respect of himself, but as a continuance of trouble and misery to him; and in respect of this bleffed Queen, to have been defigned by God, for an Exercise of her Faith and Virtue, and a necessary means, to render his Favour and never failing Providence over her, the more Manifest, Conspicuous and Exemplary to encourage others to Fidelity to him, and Resignation to his most Wife, Powerful and Gracious Providence. But though these things do well deserve our notice, yet that which I call a Distinguishing Providence, is yet more admirable and remarkable in her nearer neighbours in France.

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39. When Queen Elizabeth began her Reign in England, Henry II. was King of France. His Father Francis I. who, in the beginning of his Reign, which was about the time of Luebers first appearing against Indulgences, had unhappily entred into a league with the Pope (Leo x.) which in the judgment of many, says Thuanus, brought destruction upon his affairs and family; though in many things unhappy throughout his whole Reign, yet certainly was he in nothing more unhappy, than in the guilt of so much innocent blood, as was shed in the barbarous and horrid murders and slaugh- Thu. 1.6. ters which were made upon the Protestants of Merindol and Cabriers, condemned meerly for their Religion, by a most

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Thu. 1.3. Davil.p.14.

Thu. 1. 6.

rigid and severe Sentence of the Parliament of Provence, after which he never enjoyed himself, says Raleigh, nor indeed his life long after his approbation of that Execution, wherein their towns and villages, to the number of two and twenty, were burned, and themselves, without distinction of age or fex; most barbarously murthered. But being touched with remorfe of Conscience, and repenting of it, upon his death bed he charged his Son, that the injuries done to that people should be enquired into, and their murtherers, who in the cruelty of their execution had exceeded the severity of the Sentence, to be duly punished: threatening him with Gods judgments, if he neglected it. And among other Admonitions which he then gave him, this was one, to beware of the Ambition of the Guises, whom, he foresaw, if admitted to the administration of the Kingdom, would reduce both his Children, and the People of France, to great miferies. But Henry 11. no sooner came to his Fathers throne, Davila p.15.19 but he presently began to practise the contrary to his dire-Gions, displacing those that before had any part in the government, and substituting in their room the same men whom his Father had discharged, and Guise with the first, and at length the three brothers of Guife got into their hands all the principal governments, and chief dignities of the Kingdom together with the super-intendancy of all affairs, both Martial and Civil; the Consequence of which did afterwards make good the truth of his fathers prediction. Nor did he much better perform his fathers charge, in doing Tuffice upon the bloody offenders; for though he gave the cause a long hearing, yet did not the issue of the judgment answer the great expectations, which the so many horrid crimes whereof they were accused did raise in mens minds: one only of the offenders, for want of friends at Court, being executed; but the principal actors of that wickedness, restored to their former dignity and places; so that instead of that Justice, which, if duly executed upon the offenders, might possibly have averted or mitigated the Divine vengeance, which hath fince profecuted his fathers guilt in his poflerity, he not only by neglect thereof, but also by his own contri-

continuance of the like cruelties, and for the same cause of Religion, appropriated his fathers guilt to himfelf, and with the addition of his own, transmitted the same to his posterity, with the Divine Vengeance further provoked attending it. He began his Perfecutions of the Protestants in the first year of his reign, and continued the same to the last days of his life, with that resolution, that no sollicitation of neighbour Princes, his allies, could mitigate his fury. He used bis ustermost endeavour, says Davila, p. 40. to extirpate the roots of those seeds in their first growth; and therefore with Inexorable Severity resolved, that All who were found convict of this imputation, should suffer death without mercy. And although Many of the Counsellors in Every Parliament, either Favouring the Same Opinions, or Abborring the Continual Effusion of blood, made use of all their skill, to preserve as many as they could from the Severity of his Execution; notwithstanding the Kings Vigilance and Constancy was such, chiefly by the Incitements of the Cardinal of Lorain, (one of the Guifes ) that be had reduced things to such a point as would in the end, though with the Effusion of much blood. have expelled all the peccant bumours ( he means the Protestants ) out of the bowels of the Kingdom, if the accident which followed, bad not interrupted the course of his resolution. That which he calls an accident, was the violent, and, in respect of the course of nature, untimely, but, in respect of Gods Providence, most seasonable, death, of that cruel King, in the height of his Resolutions of Inexorable Severity against the Protestants, by the hands of that same man, whom he had but few days before imployed to apprehend and imprison some of the chief Senators, for no other cause but their Religion, and their free delivering of their Sentence, according to the Laws, in Parliament, concerning the cause of the Protestants; and at the same that Queen Elizabeth was Her Senators Confulting and Resolved to Establish that region, which he persecuted: which she happily by Gods Bleffing effected, and procured a Bleffing upon her felf and her Kingdom, while he furiously fighting against God, was in a Ludicrous fight, running at Tilt, by a Splinter of a broken lance, which found entrance at his eye though his head and body were clad in armour, cut off from further profecuting his resolutions, in the midst of his years, and in the midst of his publick Solemnities of the Nuptials of his eldest daughter to the King of Spain, which whom he had concluded to make a war against the Protestants, and of his only Sister to the Duke of Savoy, in the view of the Bastile, where those Senators were kept in Prison, and within two or three days, if not less, after one of the chief of them was declared heritick, and delivered over to the Secular Power; Leaving behind him a Curse upon his posterity, and Misery and Consusion to his Kingdom, principally caused and promoted by those very instruments, whose Counsels and Instigations he had sollowed in his wicked and bloody practices.

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40. He left four fons, all in a manner children; the eldeft Francis 11. who succeeded him, under the age of fixteen; who by reason of his youth, or rather, as says Davila, his 'natural incapacity, requiring, if not a direct Regent, yet 'a prudent, assiduous Governour, till his natural weakness was overcome by maturity of years, the Ancient Customs. of the Kingdom called to that Charge the Princes of the Blood, among which for nearness and reputation it be-'longed to the Prince of Conde, and the King of Navarre. But Katherine of Medicis the Kings mother, and Francis Duke of Guise, with Charles his brother Cardinal of Lorain, uncles to Mary Queen of Scots; whom the King in the life-time of his father had married, severally aspiring to the Government; to which neither had right by the Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore despairing by their own power and interest, to obtain and retain it alone, they resolved to unite their several interests and powers, and to share it among them; and they quickly obtained, she by her interest in the King her Son, and they by the means of their Niece, Queen, that to the Duke was committed the Care of the

Davil.l.I.

Militia; the Civil affairs to the Cardinal; and to the Queenmother the Superintendance of all: the Princes of the blood and others of the prime Nobility being excluded not only

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from the Government, but also, by arts and affronts removed or repulsed from the Court it self. The Guises, having thus intruded into the Authority aforesaid, continued the same Resolutions of Severity, against those of the Reformed Religion, which they had infused, or at least fomented and agitated in the former King; which they instantly put in execution. And the same moneth that this King came to the Crown, his Order is fent out for the tryal of the Senators imprisoned by his father. Whereof one, Anne du Boury, was afterward, for his Religion, executed; but the rest not being convicted were only degraded. While these were brought to their Tryal, by the command of the Cardinal, Severe Inquisition is made at Paris, into all suspected of that Thu. L. 23. Religion; and many both Men and Women are taken and clapt into Prison; and many, to avoid the danger, forced to fly; many leaving their infants and little children behind them, who filled the streets with the noise of their lamentable crys: their goods taken out of their houses were publickly fold, and their empty houses proscribed: and to increase the Odium of the people against them, the same Calumnies, which were heretofore cast upon the Primitive Christians, of promiscuous copulation in their Nocturnal Meetings the lights being put out, were now renued against these, and base people produced by the Cardinal to prove it, who though upon tryal convicted of fraud and falshood, were yet suffered to go unpunished. The City being thus diligently searched, the same Course is immediately taken in the Suburbes, at S. Germans, and presently after in the rest of the Cities of France, especially at Poisiers, Tholonfe, Air, and throughout the whole Province of Narbon. Shortly after command is given to the Court, to proceed feverely against those who were suspected, and with all diligence to attend to the tryal of them, without intermission. Whereupon the Prilons were all foon emptied, fome being condemned to death, others banished, and the rest punished with other mulc's and penalties. Nor did all this satiate the fury of these cruel & merciless men : for dreading the very mention of an Assembly of the Estates, which might correct

the Exorbitances of their Usurped Power, they accused all

those as Rebellious and Seditious, who defired it: and when they perceived the Protestants, who were now very numerous notwithstanding all the cruelties used against them, to concur in the same desire, new Ares and Snares were devised to apprehend them; wherein also others who were not of their Religion, were often unawares surprised. For every where, at Paris especially, were erected Images of Saints, in the Streets & by-ways, with lighted Candles fet up to them in the day time, and a deal of Superstitious Worship; and boxes set by them, into which, they who pasfed by were pressed to cast in money for providing of the Lights, and such as refused to do it, or neglected to give reverence to the Images, were suspected, and instantly asfaulted by the Rabble: and happy was he, that in such case could escape with his life, though immediately thrust into prison. All this was done the same year that Francis came to the Crown. And although in the entrance of the next year, about 12. Mart. lest the Protestants exasperated by all these Cruelties, should be provoked to joyn with them, who at that time held a Consultation against the Guises, to remove them and the Queen-mother from the Government, this feverity by the mediation of Colinius the Admiral and Olinier the Chancellour, was by a publick Edict, for the present in part remitted; Yet no sooner was the danger of that Confederacy over by the defeat of the Enterprise at Amboise, but the Edict was recalled, and new resolutions concluded for the utter ruine and extirpation of the Protestants: and that upon this further occasion, and by the means following. The Guises nothing doubting but that the late attempt at Amboise, to surprise and remove them from the Government, was fecretly excited and managed by the Princes of the blood, to whom the right, during the Kings inability, did belong; and that the Protestants, thus provoked by such unjust perfecutions, would favour the right of the Princes; resolved to cut off both: But considering that it would be difficult and hazardous, by open Force to get the Princes into

their power, they resolved to essay to accomplish that by

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Art; and therefore first by all means to conceal and differnble their suspicion of them; and to that purpose, endeavoured to have the late bufiness at Amboise imputed to the Protestants, and to attribute all to Divertity of Religions; which might also serve them to a further purpose, viz. to render their own cause and proceedings more plausible to the people, and the others more odious; and to urge this yet further, they endeavoured to possess the King with great apprehensions of the danger of his own person from that party, and the people with an opinion that that attempt was defigned against the King himself; which was so gross a Calumnie, that Davila himself, though otherwise partial enough against the Protestants, thought it not fit to be credited; and at last, having used all their Arts to beget a confidence in the Princes that they had no designs against them, to accomplish their designs, they cause an Assembly of the Estates, whereat the Princes by their place were to attend, to be appointed at Orleans. Where against the Protestants in general, Thu. 1. 16. they presently proceed more openly; and having obtained an Edict that all should exhibit a profession of their Faith, according to a Form, 18. years before prescribed by the Sorbon Doctors, and that they who refused, should be punished with loss of life and Goods: such were sent out throughout the whole Kingdom, who should apprehend all that were suspected to be of the Reformed Religion, with command to pull down the Houses and Castles of those who made any relistance. And the Princes, being at length with much Art and difficulty, wrought upon to come to the Afsembly, though contrary to the perswasion of their friends, are inflantly upon their arrival secured; Navar under a kind of Guard, but Conde close prisoner. Having thus gotten them into their hands, they without much difficulty resolve to circumvent Conde with Accusations of Rebellion, and put him to death under colour of Law. But for Navar, they were not a little doubtful what to do with him, and at last conclude to murder him secretly. But when all these designs against both the Protestants in general, and these Princes in particular, were brought to the very point of execution, and

the Tragedy already begun, It pleased God, by the same means, whereby he had decreed to profecute his judgments and vengeance against this persecuting House of Valois, to deliver those who were designed for slaughter; and by the seasonable intervention of the otherwise untimely death of this young King, before he had accomplished the age of eighteen, to confound and disappoint all the subtile machinations, of these ambitious unchristian persecutors. As the force and violence of thunder, fays Davila, useth in a moment to oversbrow and raine those buildings which are built with great care and long labour; so his unexpected death, destroying in an instant those Counsels, which with so much art and dissimulation were brought to maturity and concluded, left the state of things ( already in the way ( although by Violent and Rigorous Means, yet) to a certain and secure end) in the beight of all discord, and more than ever they were formerly, troubled, wavering and abandoned. Thus he, but we may rather observe the unsuccessfulness of such violent and Rigorous Courses, though for the attaining of never so good and lawful ends; and that not so much of their own nature, as by the special Providence of God, who doth frequently suffer wicked and proud conceited men, confident of their own wit or strength, to proceed in their wicked policies and the exercise of their malitious practifes, till they be at the very point to receive their expected fruits of all, and then by some little occurrence to frustrate and blast all their hopes, and make them so much more miserable by their disappointment, by how much they thought themselves nearer and surer of the enjoyment. Such were the Popes and Spaniards disappoinment . mentioned before Sect. 26. pag. 32. and that of 88. Sect. 33. and others. Whereas Queen Elizabeths moderate proceedings, but in a better cause, were all along bleffed with happy success.

41. To this young King, thus cut off in his youth, and leaving no issue behind him, (though some) years married to a beautiful young Lady, succeeded his brother Charles the nineth, a Childe of about Eleven years of Age; who,

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who, by reason of his Minority, being incapable to exercise the Government, by Agreement between the Queen mother (now sufficiently weary of the Ambition and Insolencies of the Guises, and suspitious of their designs) and the King of Navarre first Prince of the blood (though the Guises used all their Arts to renue the former differences between them ) Thu. 1, 26. She is made Regent, and He President of the Provinces; and a Dav.1.2. Decree is made by the King, with the counsel and advice of the Queen Regent, Navarre, the rest of the Princes of the blood and others, Privy Counsellors, whereby the Supreme Regimen of all is committed to Her. Hereupon the Guises being accustomed to govern, and not able to conform their minds to their present condition, sought all manner of opportunities, whereby they might again raise themselves to their former greatness. And whereas at the instance of Navarre, with the confent of the Regent and the Councel (many difliking the effution of to much blood for no other fault than profession of the Reformed Religion ) a Decree of Councel passed 28. Jan. for the Release of all Prisoners committed only for matters of Religion, and to stop all Inquisition appointed for that cause, to prohibit disputations in matters of Religion, and particular persons from reviling one another with the names of Heretick & Papift & commanding all to live together in Peace, &c. this served them, to dissemble the true cause of their grief; and therefore they made shew of being moved and offended only at the tacit toleration permitted the Calvinifes; covering in this manner (fays Davila) with a pious pretence under the vail of Religion, the interests of private passion. And having, by the arts and subtilty of Diana late Mistress to Hen. 2. gained to their party An Momorancy Constable of France, (who, being at that time in the fame danger with them and others of being called to refund the large donations which they had obtained of the two last Kings, and besides had been very active in the former persecutions against the Protestants, was with the less difficulty wrought upon, especially in the absence of his son, a sober and prudent person, who disswaded him all he could) they enter into a league for the preservation of the Catholick Religion,

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Thu. l. 28.

p. Thu. in 1.36.
a Conspiracy
between Guise
and the King
of Spain, qua
nulla audacior
in regno memoratur, which
also was in agitation at this
time, though
not discovered till after
Guise his
death, an. 1564

\* About the year 1300.

gion, and mutual defence of their several Estates. And when the Protestants, after some other Edicts and Decrees, partly indulging some kind of liberty to them, and partly reftraining it, were permitted a publick Disputation at Poisey, ( which was first proposed by the Cardinal of Lorain, and as was thought, to hinder the Convention of a National Synod, which he knew would be little pleafing to the Pope, but was much defired in France by the most sober and pious of both fides, who were studious of the peace and good of the Church) there was presently a \* secret consultation held by the Grandees of the Popish Faction of France with them of Spain, King Philip being wonderfully moved at the news of that Conference: and Arturius Desiderius, incited by the Sorbon Doctors, and as was believed by many, not without the privity of the Cardinal of Lorain, bastens to King Philip with a Supplication and Private Instructions, Complaining of the increase of the Protestants, the remisses of the King and his Counsellors in reftraining them; and imploring his Aid; and committing to his Patronage the Honour, Lives, Fortunes and Estates of the French Nobility; with which he was intercepted in his journey at Orleans. Not long after, this Thefis, among others, is fet up to be disputed publickly. That the Pope, as the fole Vicar of Christ, and Monarch of the Church , bath All Christian Princes Subject to his Spiritual and Secular Power; and that he may turn out of their Kingdoms those that are rebellious to bis Commands. Wherewith the King being acquainted, his Delegates were fent to complain of it to the Parliament; which ordered the Sorbon Doctors to deprecate the offence, and to recant this errour brought in \* by Pope Boniface 8. and fince his death generally condemned. The Guifes in the mean time dreading a National Synod so much defired, as fearing that the Protestants would prevail in it, spared no endeavours to keep it off. To which end also, Philip of Spain sollicited by the Pope, sends over his Ambassadour, who with threats added to his intreaties daily importunes the Queen R. to Severities against the Sectaries. But because the Guises thought that Navarre would be a main obstacle to these endeavours to keep off the Synod.

Synod, they refolve with the Spanish Ambassador and the Popes Legate ( who was admitted in France, but held firictly to the conditions by the Laws appointed ) to fet upon him, a man though otherwise of parts, yet through indulgence to pleasures and ease, grown facile and easie, to draw him to their party. To which end, having first corrupted some of his confidents, they first propose to him, to divorce his Queen for her heresie, and marry their niece the Queen of Scots, with whom he should have also the Kingdom of England, of which the Pope was about to deprive Elizabeth for her heresie. But when this, by reason of his love to his Queen, a woman of great worth, and by whom he enjoyed a good estate ( though they promised him the continuance of this by the Popes Authority notwithstanding the divorce, ) and to his children he had by her, would not take with him; they propose that the King of Spain, for satisffaction for his Kingdom of Navarre ( which the Spaniard unjustly held from him, ) should give him the 1sle of Sardinia, which though a pitiful thing, they very much magnified, and promised the assistance of Spains Treasures and Forces if he would defert the Lutherans, whom by the means of his Queen he was brought to favour, and take upon him the Patronage of the Catholicks in France. By which abuse (for it proved no other) they prevailed upon bim, and for made up the Triumvirate, of Navarre, the Duke of Guise, and Momorancy the Constable, and layd the foundation of that Civil war, which shortly after ensued, and in the compals of about a year after put an end to his thopes and life also; when being wounded he became sensible Tou. 1. 33. of his abuse, and declared that if he recovered, he would embrace the Protestant Confession of Augsburg, and live and die in it. About the same time or not long after, the Oueen Regent and the Councel, upon the complaint of the Protestants of that little liberty, which was permitted Thu. 1. 28.] them by former Edicts, being abridged by or under pretence of the Late Edict of Italy, which they faid was furreptitiously obtained by a fraud in numbering the Votes, resolve

156;... Thu. 1.29. upon another Assembly at S. Germans, where was made that famous and much Celebrated Edict of January, whereby the Protestants are permitted to assemble at Sermons so it be out of any City; and the Magistrates commanded not to moleft, but protect and defend them from all injury; and the Protestants that they should hold no Synod or Con-'fistories, unless the Magistrate first called was present, their Pastors should engage to observe the Edict, to teach the people the pure word of God, and nothing contrary to the Nicene Councel, the Creed, and the books of the Old and New Testament, and that both sides should abstain from all reproachful words, speeches and books against one another: and when the Senate interceded against the promulgation of the Edict, a mandate was fent out to them to promulgate it without further delay, which being again and again reiterated, they at last obeyed. The Guises, the Constable and others of their party, in the mean time leaving the Court, contrive to hinder the Execution of it, and oppose the Hugonot Faction, as they call it, not doubting, (but having, by the Arts aforesaid gotten Navarre to their party) to obtain their defires. And first they endeavour to insinuate into the Lutheran Princes of Germany, and if posfible to engage them against the Protestants of France ( who in a point or two, wherein Luther and Calvin differed, incline rather to Calvins opinion) or at least to render them more flack in affording them their affistance. Then after a three days fecret confultation with the Duke of Witenberg to this purpose at Zabern, to which they had invited him, and an out-ragious violence committed in the way by the Duke of Guise his company upon an Assembly of the Protestants at Vaffy, met to hear a Sermon, whereof fixty men and women, were by them flain, and above two hundred more wounded, the Duke with a great retinue speedily repairs to Paris, in an insolent manner, without any respect to the King by the way, and contrary to the Queens express will and pleasure; and not contented to go the nearer way by S. Martins, he goes about with his attendants,

tendants, being accompanied by the Constable, the Dake of Aumale his brother, and the Mareshal of S. Andre, and enters by S. Denis gate (by which the Kings of France in Royal State are used to make their entrance to that Metropolis of the Kingdom,) being met by divers of the Magistrates of the City, with the acclamations of the Rabble, in such fort as is used by the people to their Kings. Hereupon the Queen after-divers other infolencies of this party, fearing that under pretext of afferting the Catholick Religion, they would usurp the Supreme Power of the Kingdom, and get into their hands the King, her felf, and other Children, She commends all, and the whole Kingdom to the Care of the Prince of Conde Dav. 1.3. the next Prince of the blood, and earnestly and frequent- Thu. l. 29. ly importunes his affiftance, to stop the proceeding of the Confederates. But they, who upon longer Consultation had made fufficient preparation for what they intended, easily prevented him: and having exasperated the people with feigned rumours from all the Provinces of the Kingdom, of pretended injuries done to the Catholicks by the Protestants (an Artifice wherein the Cardinal of Lorain's greatest skill consisted,) the Duke draws out a party, and at Fountain-bleau feifeth upon the King, whom with the Queen and Her other Children, they carry by force to Paris, the King weeping to fee himfelf his mother and brothers carried as it were into Captivity. Queen the same day they were seised, renned her importu. nity to Conde, defiring him not to abate his courage or neglect his care for the preservation of the Crown, or fuffer their enemies to arrogate to themselves the absolute Power in the Government. The Confederates on the other fide being come to Paris with the young King and the Oueen (having in the morning, by a party led by the Constable, fired one of the places without the Gates where the Protestants assembled to Prayers and Sermons, and in the afternoon another, whereby also the neighbour buildings were confumed, and permitted licence to

the Rabble to abuse and injure those they suspected for their Religion) held frequent Consultations how best to Order their affairs for their own advantage. 'In which Counsels the Duke of Guise openly declared that he thought it most expedient to proceed to a War with the Hugonots, so to extinguish the fire, before it burft out into a confuming flame, and to take away the root of that growing evil. Thus was the first Civil War begun, the Confederates pretending the Authority of the King and Queen Regent, whom they had by force gotten into their power; and the Prince alledging the express Authority of the Regent, and that the Orders sent out in the Kings Name against him, were by the Confederates obtained by force and dures. This I have related the more largely, because hitherto the Protestants had been onely passive, that, fince now they had engaged in Action, as many of them did in this service of the Prince. it may the better appear upon what grounds they did A&; which was not upon pretente of Religion, though no doubt that was a great motive to them, but for defence of the Laws, and for the Liberty of their Prince and Lawful Governour, and against those who did aspire not to the Regency onely, but to the Crown and Kingdom it felf, by a long train of policies and violent Cruelties. But this War was rather tharp than long, which, besides the slaughter of eight thousand men in one battel at Drenx, besides great bloodshed and mischief in many other places, was in short time the destruction of two of

He was shot returning from the Camp to his Quarters by Poltrot, who being taken, upon his examination said he was imployed by Colinius and exhorted to it by Beza; but being brought to the rack he utterly denyed it, and concerning Beza persevered in his denyal to the last; but

the principal Authors of it, Navarre and \* Guise being both slain; and the Constable the only surviving Triumvir being taken Prisoner, thereupon an Accommodation sollowed without difficulty, upon these Conditions among others; 'That all free Lords, not 'holding of any but the Crown, might within their Jurisdictions freely exercise the 'Resormed Religion; that the other Feudataries might do the same in their own houfes, for their own families, provided they lived not in + any City or Town where the Courts resided ]. That in every Province certain Cities should be appointed, in the Fauxburg whereof the Protestants might Affemble at their Devotion. That in all other Cities and Towns, every one should live free in his Conscience without trouble or molestation. That all should have full Pardon for all Delinquences committed duering, or by occasion of the War; declaring all to be done to a good end, without any offence to the Royal Majesty, and 'all be restored to their places, &c. And these and the rest were ratified in Counsel by an Edict of Pacification under the Kings own hand and Seal, verified in Parliament and Proclaimed by found of Trumpet, in March 1562. which had they been honeftly and juftly observed, might by Gods bleffing, have been a means of much peace and happinels to that Kingdom; but we find the contrary as to the Observance, and therefore no wonder if the contrary also to so hopeful and happy confequence and iffue of subsunt. it. For no sooner was this War concluded

upon this Edict of Pacification, ratified with all the formalities and solemnities used for the establishing and confirming of Laws in France, but the Edict began presently to be violated, the Protestants in divers places, both disturbed in their Religious Assemblies, which this and other Laws allowed them to hold, and injured in their Civil Rights, and in divers manners frequently and grievously oppressed, and that not onely by concourses and assaults of the vulgar and Rabble, who, having no pretence of Authority, were many times with like force repulsed by the others;

concerning Colinius, being brought to execution, and with the terrour of his ap-. proaching execution being befides himself, he one while affirmed and another while denyed it. Colinius and Brza, calling God to witness, utterly denyed it, and Calinius wrote to the Queen, that before his execution, the business might be further examined; but he was in few days after executed. Thuanus, lib. 34. But was it really so, Who employed and exhorted Parry, not against a Commander of an Army, but against his Prince? who Lopez? who so many more against Queen Elizabeth? who James Clement to murther Henry the third of France? who fo. Chastel to murther Henry the fourth? To mention no more.

† So Davila, but Thuanus, lib. 35. modo ne in pagis aut municipiis babitent, quæ majori jurisdictioni, regia excepta, subsunt.

Thu.1.35,36, 37, 39.

Thu. 1. 37.

Thu. L. 39.

others, but even by the Presidents of the Provinces and other Magistrates, whose duty it was to have seen the Laws justly observed, but did the quite contrary, and that not only by connivance at the exorbitances of the vulgar, but also by their own actual iniquity, and ( that no part or kind of injustice might be wanting) both by force and violence, and also by fraud, by breach of faith, by subornation of mitnesses, by falfe calumniations. By which means and such like arts, together with the mediation of their potent friends at Court, the passionate young King being before prejudiced by the Arts of the Guifian faction, especially the Cardinal of Lorain, and further incensed by the Legate of Spain, the Pope and Savoy, who, notwithstanding the late Edict, urged him to banish and otherwise punish the Protestants, and revoke the Liberty granted by it to them, they easily obtained that the Complaints of the Protestants, which were dayly brought to the King, were anteverted, and either totally rejected or eluded, and the persons employed to exhibit the same ordinarily so discountenanced and discouraged, that they were forced to return without any effect, if not imprisoned, and for the greatest violences and enormities, even murther it felf (by which as some write not to few as three thousand had perished since the Edict of pacification ) could obtain no remedy or redress. And of all this many plain and notable examples and proofs might be Lib. 35, 36, 7 produced out of our Noble Excellent Hiltorian, were it

> not too long to do it. We might instance in that notable practice of the Bilhop of Pamiers, which give the first occasion of that very tumult, which that smooth Italian Davila mentions, and while he exaggerates the actions of the Protestants in it, with no little partiality conceals the first and true occasion of it; but perhaps being a Courtier, he relates it and other such passages, as they were then, by the Artifices and means above mentioned, represented at the Court. Nor was the Royal Authority abus'd to concur in this Iniquity and Injuffice only by connivence and permiffion of these things thus done by the Kings Ministers and Officers

37,39.

in fraud and violation of the Agreement of Peace and the Edict made in Confirmation of it, but also to give further occasion and countenance to it by divers fraudulent and elufory Interpretations of the Edict. By which means, whiles it feems, it was thought too gross plainly and directly to revoke it, they did notwithstanding indirectly clude its effect and the benefit expected by it: in such fort, that had the Protestants been of those pernitious principles, that their adversaries indeed were, and endeavoured to represent them to be, the most subtile and malitious enemies of that Kingdom could not have devised and promoted a more effectual means and method of its confusion and ruine. And the truth is this was it, which the principal Authors and Fomenters of those courses, the Guises at home and the Spaniards abroad, aimed at, and by these means in conclufion to make themselves Master of it. Which though at that time not so visible to every one, yet was afterwards very apparent. The Pope also, because France stood too much upon their Liberties and Priviledges, being a well wisher to their designs, especially of Guise, though not so much of Spain, as not defiring so potent a Neighbour. But all these oppressions and Injuries though they provoked some little tumults of the vulgar, yet were they not sufficient to produce and necessitate another Civil War, which not only the Spaniard defired, as well for his own fecurity to divert a War from himself, as in order to his further deligns, but also the Cardinal of Lorain, his Nephews now growing up, though his brother the Duke was flain; and therefore besides these, other means were thought on to do that at least, if they should fail to make way for their ends, by taking off those who most stood in their way. And to this purpole, besides some lesser Confederacies for an irreconcilable war against the Protestants, there was a Conspiracy, which was begun indeed by the Duke of Guise in his life time, but renued again and carried on by the same faction, with the King of Spain, for the cutting off of those of the Nobility who favored the Protestant doctrine, and particularly for surpri-

fing the Queen of Navarre and her Children, (the next heirs to the Crown of France after the familie of Valois, ) who were all children and in their power already) and clapping them into the Spanish Inquisition. But this being discovered by the Queen of Spain in receit to her mother the Queen mother of France, who eafily perceived what was aimed at , and by others to the Queen of Navarre, and fo prevented; the Legates of Spain, the Pope and Savoy were by the means of the Cardinal of Lorain, sent to perswade the King to admit the Councel of Trent in France, and to that end to invite him to a Consultation of the Catholick Princes at Nancie in Lorain, to enter into a Holy League for the extirpation of the Hereticks, but the Queen mother neither liking the admission of the Councel, nor to engage so openly against the Protestants, the Legates were under some other pretenses dismissed. Wherefore the next year, the King being declared out of his Minority, and with his Mother making a progress through all parts of the Kingdom, an Enterview between them and the Queen of Spain accompanied with the Duke of Alva is so ordered that a more secret Consultation is held at Bayonne for the extirpation of the hereticks, and a Holy League made between the two Crowns for mutual affistance to that end, and 'at last it is concluded according to the opinion of Alva, which be faid was the judgement of King Philip, to cut off ' she chief heads of the Protestants and then in imitation of \* 30.Mar. 1282 the \* Sicilian Vespers to Claughter all the Protestants to the ' last man: and because the intended Assembly at Moulins French were all was already talked on, that it would be best to make a flanghter of the Nobility affembling there from all parts, and upon a fign given to exterminate the rest through out France. This Thuanus relates from Jo. Bapt. Hadrianus, who he faith wrote his history with very great fidelity and prudence, and, as is very likely, extracted many things from the Commentaries of the Duke of Inscany [ Father to the Queen Mother: ] But, as he further relates, either because they did not all meet there, or that fer some other cause

Jan. 1565. Davila. 7. 3. Thu. l. 37.

When the at an instant without distination of age or fex cruelly flaughtered; as were the Danes here in England 280. years before that.

it feemed unfeasonable, that business was deferred to another time, and was seven years after, as was then continued, put in execution at Paris at a more convenient place and occasion. But from shis time the Prince of Conde and the Colinies being admonished, by their friends at Court of these bloody Counsels, and thereupon fulpitious of the Court defigns, were more cautions and wary. Yet was Colinius at the Affembly at Moulins in January fol- Thu. 1. 39. lowing, and there by folemn Oath purged himself of the death of the Duke of Guise; and possibly might then make some further discovery into these secret counsels; which, if as is faid, they were at first defigned to be put in execution there, feem by the succeeding History to have been deferred for want of sufficient Forces ready, and of fit instruments. For afterward, by the advice of Alva, 6000 Swiffers were Thu. l. 41: hired, and levies of Souldiers made in Champain and Picardy, under presence of guarding the Frontiers against Alva. But this pretence quickly vanished by Alva's withdrawing from those parts, (as it was afterwards more fully detected of fraud and collusion, by his sending them Forces in the War foon after following): nevertheless the Swiffers were still re-

43. Whereupon, all very well knowing that there was a bet- Thu. 1.42. ter accord between the Courts of France and Spain, especially fince the enterview at Bayonne, than that there needed any fuch Guards, the Prince of Conde, Colinius, Andetot his Brother, and the rest of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry, began to be very fensible of their near approaching danger of ruine; and, after a long parience under Slaughters, Banishments, Calumnies, lofs of their Estates and Fortunes, to confult together what course might be taken for the safety and preservation not only of their estates and liberties, but of the lives of themselves, and their wives and children. They had seen and felt the Edicts made on their behalf, partly eluded by the interpretations of new Edicts and Proferipts, partly violated by the malice and iniquity of Judges and Prefidents of the Provinces: injuries and mischies every where done to them, and even the murthers of no small number connived at, and permitted to go unpunished. And besides all this, they had

Swes, p. 768.

certain intelligence of those fecret consultations held for the destruction and of other fecret counsels held by Ambaffadors with the Pope, who fomented the hatred of those two Kines against them, and, besides the speeches and threats frequently given out that shey were not like long to enjoy their Afferr blies, they faw plainly that those preparations, which faire the Cities which they inhabited were difmantled, and Forts therein built, and Garrisonsput into them) were at first made under fuch pretext as was no way probable, and now continued without any at all, were designed against them; and were also informed thereof by intelligence from their friends \* and by letters intercepted from Rome and Spains Notwithflanding after a confultation or two, it was refolved by common confent of all, to use all mild and gentle means; and therefore, fince now there remained no further pretence to retain them, the Prince of Conde, by his friends, defires that, tince Alva is now retired into Belgium, the Smiffers may be difmiffed. But when inftead of being difmiffed, or retained only to guard the Frontiers, they found them daily march on nearer to the heart of the Kingdom, and had further notice from the Court of their defigns, they at last assemble in great confusion; and though every one saw the danger which hanged over their heads, and was now ready to involve them all. yet great question there was how it should be prevented . To complain, they by experience knew what effect of that might be expected: to Arm, though in fo great occasion of necesfiry and extremity, they eafily forelaw many inconveniences attending that. They only unhappily not forefaw the proper remedy by their great Master prescribed in such case to fly, though it had been to the greater humanity of the uncivilized Indians: whereby they might perhaps better have confulted their own fafety, and also have promoted his fervice in the propagation of his Truth and Gofpel. But to Arm, belides the mischiefs of a Civil War, they thought that could not be without many calumnies and flanders cast upon them by their adversaries, as if they were the Authors of it. and undertook it against the King, to whom they did not fo much as impute their former injuries and oppressions, or prefent. fent dangers, but only to their adverlaries, who having at first buforce gotten the King into their power, abused his immasurity and authority to ruine and deftroy them; and although they should take up Arms only against them, and meerly for the necessary defence of the lives and fortunes of themselves. their wives, and children, and for the prefervation of the Kingdom, yet should they not escape that imputation: and therefore they unanimously agreed rather being innocent, after the example of their ancestors, to bear what injuries should be done them, than to offer any to those who were indeed nocent; left by an ill defence of a good canse they should desert that Equity or Instice which had hitherso stood on their part; till by the discourse of Andelos, a person of great authority among the Peers, and belides of known probity and virtue, they were perswaded, that after to often breach of Faith by their adverfaries, there was no further trust to be given to them; and for the calumnies and flanders which should be cast upon them, the iffue of their to necessary undertakings, if it pleased God to blefs them in fo just a cause, would sufficiently clear them, Upon which they changed their resolutions, and agreed to take up Arms for their own defence; which accordingly they did, to the no little joy of the Cardinal of Lorain, that the bufiness was brought to the necessity of a War, which, after several in- Cardinali Loeffectual treaties for an accommodation, shortly enfued. And taringus rem as these were the true causes and occasions of the Jecond Civil tem deductam War; which after many Noblemen and Gentlemen of both gaudens, fays fides flain at the Battel of St. Denis, and among them the Con- Thuanus; and stable, (the last of the Triumvirate, and a principal Author a little before speaking of of the late oppressions, at least by protecting the actors in him. Turbus them from Justice ) and some other acts of Hostility was about consilies (uis fix moneths after it began, by a fraudulent peace rather inter- opportunas exmitted than concluded: for about fix moneths after it broke istimans. out again, upon the like causes and occasions.

44. In the mean time, that we may note it by the way, Philip King of Spain, a principal promoter and inventer of those oppressions and troubles to his neighbours, escaped not a remarkable judgment of God upon bim; for at this fame time, Thu. 1. 43. bis eldeft, and shen only fon, Prince Charles, defigned to kill

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him; or at least he thought so; or however suspecting that he favoured the Protestants in the Low-Countreys or for fome other reason, pretended so; and therefore caused him to be taken out of his bed in the night, and committed to custody. Whereupon the young Prince falling distracted, and often attempting to kill himself, he was, at last, by Philip his Fathers own command, having first consulted with the Inquifition, poyfoned. Few months after, bis Queen, whom he had employed in those bloudy consultations at the enterview at Bayonne, died great with child, and not without fufpition of poison by his own means, being, as was thought. jealous and suspitious of her too much familiarity with his own fon, whom he had not long before thus murthered. And in her, who was the eldest daughter of Hen.2. of France, married at the time of his death, as hath been said, and in this late consultation in France prosecuting his cruelties, and so by her own act contracting a participation of his guilt, we may take notice of the divine vengeance pursuing his posterity. Nor was this divine vengeance upon King Philip thus remarkable only in those his domestick troubles, but also in the Civil Commotions both in the Low-Countreys, which by his bloudy consultations with the Inquisition (thejust judgment of God giving him up to be infatuated by them and the lefuites) and the the cruelcies of Alva, the same instrument whom he had employed to raise those troubles in France, and now made Governor of the Low-Countreys, produced there; when he thought all things so safe and secure, as that he might be at leisure to assist in the troubles which he had raised in France: and besides these (which as they at present afflicted him, so afterward produced his loss of a great part of those Countreys) in those Commotions even in Spain it felf, by the Moors in Granada, which for two years during those wars which he had caused in France, made him feel the smart at home of fuch commotions and troubles as he had procured to others abroad. And by these means, as on the one side his pernitious counsels were justly punished, so on the other was he diverted from profecuting the fame, by fending those Forces against the Protestants in France, which otherwise he had undoubtedly.

Thu 1. 43.

doubtedly done. And to these might be added his loss of Thu. 1. 58. Golesta in Africa, (an. 1574) and with it the Kingdom of Tunis, ( which concerned him in point of lafery and fecurity for navigation, as well as of reputation,) but that some few years intervene.

45. But to return to France, the War, after fix months intermission, upon the like causes and occasions, breaking out again, like diseases upon a relapse, was both more violent, and of longer continuance. Yet the counsels of the Queenmother prevailing, who according to the genius and mode of her Country, fought all along rather by her Italian arts and surprizes to compass her ends, than by the hazard of a Civil War, which Spain and the Guifes most defired, as best accommodate to their defigns, it was within the compass of two years brought to conclusion, upon fuch conditions granted to the Thu. 1. 47. Protestants, as were so much more fair and reasonable, by now much with greater fraud and deep defign to enfnare them, they were granted; and yet so qualified and limited, as not to give cause of suspition by too great indulgence. And now the King was grown up to a capacity of deriving upon himself his Fathers guilt, and the guilt of all those murthers and cruelties acted indeed under his authority, but yet in his minority, by his own actual and voluntary management of affairs for the future; whereunto he was in no mean degree disposed both by bis natural temper and disposition. and by his education: by nature beyond measure cholerick. lays Davila, and yet had from his Mother derived so great a thare of the Italian genius of deep and subtil diffimulation. as did most notably qualifie him for the most effectual execution of malice and revenge. Nor was his Education less accommodate thereunto, having from his childhood been inured to the effusion of his peoples blood; for which purpose, as was faid, it was that he and his brothers, while yet children, were by the Duke of Guise caused to be spectators of the flaughters at Amboife, where the River was covered with Thu. 1. 242. the dead bodies, and the streets with the bloud of those who by precipitate condemnations without due process of Law, were executed and flaughtered, and the whole Town turned

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Tbu. 1.50.

isto a kind of grove of Gallowies and Gibbets, with people hanged on them : he was arrived to the age of twenty years and upwards in the midft of Tumults, Oppressions, and Ch vil Wars; had imbibed as great a a prejudice against the Protestants, as all the arts and calumnies of the Cardinal of Lorain and that Faction could infuse into him; and that incenfed by the foulest mis-representations of the late actions of the Protestants that could be devised, and by his Mother was infructed in all the Italian arts of Government and Policy; Optimis a matre ad benerected; regnandum monitis inflruline fays he of himself. Being thus qualified for it, he now of himfelf undertakes the execution of the conclusions at Bayonne; and refolving to profecute the fame, not after the Guiffan and Spanish methods by the continuance of the Civil War, but by the more subtil and safe Italian method of his Mother. Thu. l. 47. 50. his first business is to beget in the Protestants an opinion and hope, that fince he was now grown up to take the reins of Government into his own hands, they might henceforth expect to find more reasonable and moderate usage under his Government, then they had received from them who had abused his tender years to injure and oppress them; and to raile in them a confidence and afferance of his favourable difpofition towards them. And therefore, having granted them Thu. 1. 50, 51. as fair conditions of Peace, as without danger of suspition of his too great favour he could, he speedily takes order for the effectual reftraining and repressing of the injuries and oppressions which were presently after the peace concluded begun again against the Protestants, and gives them leave to call and hold Synods: (by which means, had he deale fincerely, and proceeded loberly and steadily therein, he might certainly much better have fecured the peace and happiness of his Kingdoms to himself and his successors, than he did by those contrary, crafty, and violent courses which he followed) with the chief of the Protestant Princes and Nobility he

deals more particularly. He had even at the treaty of Peace caused some speeches to be given out, as if upon the conclu-

fion of that Peace at home, he intended a Was in the Low-Countreys against the Spaniard, which could not but have

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been for the benefit and adventage of the Protestants there: And thorely after upon another occasion causes the like spee- Thu. 1. 50. ches to be repeated again, and a morion by the by to be made in feoret of a Marriage between the Lady Margares his Sifter and Henry Prince of Navar. Of both which there is again a proposition made by some Protestant Gentlemen fent by the King to Navar and Colinius for that purpole, and to affure them of the Kings extraordinary good will rowards them, and to invite them to come to Court, which the King also by letters and other special messengers carnesly follicited. And so creates further confidence and afferance in them and the Thu. l. 50. 51: self of the Protestant Nobility of his finceity, the causes an overture of a Marriage to be made to Outen Elizabeth of England, between her and his brother the Dake of Anjou. and moreover enters into a League with her, and at the fame simpalfo with the Protestant Princes of Germany against the Spaniard. And having by these arts at last prevailed with Navar and Colinius to come to Court; with the Prince he proceeds in the treaty of Marriage; and Colinius is received with all the expressions of favour and kindness imaginable: he confults with him how to carry on the Belgick War, gives him leave to raife what Forces he will in the frontiers in order to it; and in to great favour is Colinius received at Court by the King, his Mother, and Brothers, that the Guises forfooth are to offended at it, as thereupon to leave the Court. In furn, such were the arts and deep diffirmulation which were used, as offer ually deceived this prudent person, and a great part of the Nobility; and fuch was the King's care of fecrecy, and to whom his deligns were imparted, that as foon as he perceived that Ligneroles (who yet was his brother the Duke of Anjou's confident) was but acquainted with the design, he presently caused him to be murthered. The management of this first business having succeeded according to the Kingls mind, the next thing to be confidered, is the manner born to accomplish the design And of this he holds a conful Thu. 1-5.13 sation with the Queen his Mother, his brother Henry Duke of Anjon (who was afterward Henry 3.) the Cardinal of Lorain, Cloud his Brother Duke of Anmale, Henry the young Duke bos.

Thu l. 51. Da. p. 361:

Cambd. an. 1572.

Da. p. 363. Thu. l. 5 1. Duke of Guife, and Ren. Birage Vice Chancellor, an d form This done away, goes the Cardinal to Rome, to treat with the Pope about these secret Counsels; and to manage the present affairs with more secrecy, he goes seemingly as discontented at the Court of France. At last the Marriage concluded, and the Pope's dispensation obtained, the time of folemnity is appointed; whereunto, besides the principal Nobility of the Protestant Religion in France, from England is invited the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Burleigh, and out of Germany the Prince Elector Palatine's Sons, that if it were possible they might at once cut off all the heads of the Protestant Religion. For now in conclusion is put in execution that horrible Maffacre, which for the matter was as long fince as the enterview at Bayonne resolved on, though for the manner and method of execution not till of late fully concluded. And first they begin with the Queen of Navor. who being a woman and a Queen, they thought fittest to take her away by poison, and that so prepared and administred by the perfume of a pair of gloves, as to work only upon her brain, and put her into a fevor, and therefore her body being diffected in open view, but her head under colour of respect untouched, it was divulged, that by the restimony of skilful Physitians the died of a fevor, as Davila relates the flory. The next to be made fure of in particular was that brave person Colinius, a man who, though through necessity ingaged in them, yet detected, out of an innate hatred of such broils, the late Civil Wars even to his own ruine and destruction at last, as Thuanus upon several occasions often notes, and as real a well-wisher of his King and Countreys good as any Subject in France, as appeared more fully in some instances discovered after his death. But the King and Queen-mother by the arts of the Guissan Faction being prepossessed of a contrary opinion of him, after all their fraudulent expressions of favour to him, caused him to be shoe by a retainer of the Guifian Family, to secure themselves from the imputation of fo odious a fact; but being thereby only maimed, not killed out-right, they presently according to their former distimulations, repair to his lodgings to visit him.

Da: p. 367. Thu. l. 52.

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and with great thew of forrow for the accident, appoint him Physitians and Chirurgeons, and a guard for his defence, and order a frict fearch for the apprehenfion of the affafine. This done upon the eve of St. Bartholomen being Sunday, Da.p. 37 3,372. the Duke of Guise by order from the King, having about swilight given direction to the Provost des Marchand (the chief head of the people of Paris) to provide 2000 armed men, with every one a white fleeve on their left arm, and white croffes in their hats, to be ready upon notice instantly to execute the Kings commands, and that the Sheriffs of the several Wards should also be ready, and cause lights. upon the ringing of the bell of the Palace-clock, to be fet up in every window; himself at the hour prefixed, with the Duke of Aumale, and Monfieur d'Angoulesme the King's baffard-Brother, and other Commanders and Souldiers to the number of 300, went to the Admiral Colinius bis boufe, and having forcibly entred the Court-gate kept by a few of the King of Navar's Halbardiers and the servants of the house, who were all killed without mercy, they likewise kill the Admiral himself, (and threw his body out of the window). Felinius his fon in-law, with other persons of quality, and all the rest that had relation to him. This done, Monfigur d'O, Colonel of the King's Guards calls out the principal Protestants that were in the Louvre one by one, who being come into the Court, were all killed by the Souldiers, that flood in two long ranks with their arms ready for that purpose: there died divers Noblemen and persons of great quality, and others to the number of 200. At the same time the bell gave the fign, and those who were prepared for the deed. having received order what to do, fell a killing the Proteflants throughout all the lodgings and houses where they were dispersed, and made an infinite flaughter of them without any diffinction of age, fex or condition, and of many of the Papilts among the reft. And those who fled were pursued by the Duke of Guile with a great many horse and foot, and being overtaken, some without shooes, some without saddles, some without bridles, but all more or less unprovided, were scattered and cut off. There were killed in the City that day and -Togar

Thu. 1.752.

Du. 375.

and the next above 10000, whereof above 500 were Barons Knights and Gentlemen, who had held the chiefest employments in the War, and were now purposely met together from all parts to honor the King of Navar's Marriage. A fad time it was; what through the noise and clatter of those who every where ran to killing and carrying away of their prev. and the doleful groans and fad cryes of those who were flain and murthered without mercy, young and old, rich and poor, men and women, women great with child, and others with their little children sucking at their breasts, and in the dead time of the night plucked out of their beds and houses; what with the horrid spectacle of dead bodies thrown out of the windows, and trod about the fireets, and the channels running down with fireams of bloud into the River. And yet so little moved were the Court Ladies with all this, that without either fear or shame, in an impudent manner they beheld and flood gazing upon the naked bodies of the Noblemen and Gentlemen which lay on heaps before the Court. The day after the Admirals death, the Duke of Anjou with the Regiment of the Guards went through all the City and Suburbs, caufing those houses to be broken open that made any reliffance; but all the Protestants were either already dead, or else being terrified, had put white crosses in their hats, (the general mark of the Papists) endeavouring by that means, and by hiding themselves to save their lives; but being pointed at in the streets by any one, or discovered any other way, they were without mercy torn in pieces by the people, and cast into the River. The day before this terrible execution, the King dispatched Posts into divers parts of the Kingdom, commanding the Governors of Cities and Provinces to do the like. And the same night at Meaux, and the days ensuing at Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angiers, Tholonze, and many other places, but above all at Lyons, there was a most bloudy slaughter of the Protestants, without any respect of age, fex, or quality of perfons. Most fad and largentable stories, lays Davila, might be here related; for this cruelty was profecuted in fo many several places, with such variety of accidents, against people of all conditions, as it was credibly

reported that there were flain above forty thouland Protefrants in few days. The King himself, as \* Cicarela re- In vita Greg. lates, told the Pope's Nuncio that seventy thousand and more 13. were flain. Some days after the King dispatched his Grand Provost with all diligence to seize upon Colinius his Wife and Children; but his eldest Son, with the widow-Lady his Mother-in-law, and others being already fled fecretly to Geneva, the younger children both male and female were condemned to death in their tender years. About two days after the Massacre was finished at Paris, a Jubilee was there appointed, and a publick Thanksgiving kept by the King, the whole Court, and a great confluence of the people, for the bufiness so happily managed according to their wish and defire. In Thu. 1. 51. 53. memory whereof St. Bartholomew's day was by a decree of the Parliament of Paris appointed to be observed as an An-

niversary Thanksgiving-day.

46. This horrible act of most barbarous and inhumane Thu. 1. 51. 53. cruelty is highly extelled by the Italian Writers, as a good and laudable deed, and the politick contrivance of it as most worthe lubtil wir of a magnanimous Prince. And certain it is, that the news of its being effected was received at Rome with triumphant joy by the new Pope and his Cardinals, but bow for his predecessors were concerned in the contrivance and promotion of it, in regard of the great secreey wherewith all was managed, would be very difficult fully to discover, as to all the particulars and circumstances, yet that they had a great hand in it, is evident enough in many passages of the story. For when after the first Civil War, the King, instru- Thu. 1. 36. Ged by the Queen-Mother, had dismissed the Ambassadors fent in the joynt names of the King of Spain, the Pope and the Duke of Savoy, with thanks to their Masters for their wholfom counsel, and proffers of Forces and Aid, to expel and extirpate Herely out of his Dominions; affuring them that he would live according to the rites of the Church of Rome, and take care that all his people do the like, and that he had concluded the peace to that end, to expel his enemies out of his Kingdom; and promising by Ministers of his own to acquaint the Pope and other Princes particularly with

his resolutions; they resolved under pretence of a Progress

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D4 f. 199.

Da.p. 194.

among other things, to come to a Parly with the Duke of Savoy in Dolphine, with the Pope's Ministers at Avignonia and with the King of Spain or the Queen his Wife upon the Confines of Guienna, that so they might communicate their Counsels to them without the hazard of trusting French-men. who either through dependence or kindred, might be moved to reveal them to the Protestants. And having sufficiently informed and fully satisfied Savoy with their intentions and way defigned to free themselves without noise or danger from the trouble of the Protestants; at Avignon they confer with Lu lovico Antinori one of the Pope's trufty Ministers, and a Florentine, being according to the Queens defire come this ther, and give that Answer to the Pope's Embasy which they would not trust to the Ambassadors, concerning their purpose to extirpate Calvinism by secret stratagems, without the danger or tumult of new wars. And here no doubt was fome matters of no small moment transacted, for the King having gone by Arles and Aix as far as Marfeilles, returned again to Avignon immediately under the Pope's Jurisdiction. But what-ever they were in particular, so well it seems was the Pope pleased with the means and method resolved upon for the extirpation of Calvinism, that in order thereunto he consented that the Publication of the Council of Trent in France should be deferred fill such time as they had brought their defigns to maturity. And probably for the same purpose, by the mediation of the King and Queen-Mother, defifted from his Excommunication of the Queen of Navara which by his Monitory he had threatned against her. And at his instance was the next year held that Consultation at Thu. 1.37. p.74. Bryonne before mentioned, at which he defired that the King

Thu 36.

Da. p. 194.

D4. P. 210.

of Spain himself should have been present, to whom it is not to be doubted but he fent his advice concerning what was there to be resolved. But this Pope dying soon after, his succeffor Pins 5, being as yet unacquainted with the mystery of them, began presently to be offended with the proceedings in France, till he was better informed of all those reasons which Ludovico Antenori had represented to his predecessor, with

which he remained fully content and satisfied, says Davila. The Queen also acquainted him with her Counsels, not only Thu. 1. 53. by Cardinal Sancta Crux, four years before they were executed at Paris, by him defiring the Pope's confirmation, but also by letters under her own hand, as Capilupus testifies, who faith that he had feen the very letters themselves. Nor was he only privy to these Counsels of the King and Queen-Mother, but likewise communicated his counsel and advice in the same business to them. He sent to the King of France and his Ministers most excellent instructions for the rooting out cicarel in vita of those Hereticks out of that Kingdom, lays Cicarella, but tells Pii, 5. us not what they were, yet that is not hard to guess at from the confideration of his nature and actions, (as hath been mentioned before) as well disposed to promote cruel and bloudy designs as could be. And when those Civil Wars, which for the space of three years interrupted the course of those Italian policies and stratagems, broke out, he ordered them also the assistance of his Forces. But when the War was concluded, and the King with his Mother and Cabinet-Council, had resolved to make a Marriage between the young Prince of Navar, being now grown up, and the King's Sifter, to be the train to draw the Protestant party into that snare which had been so long before devised, the Pope not yet acquainted with this circumstance, (for though the thing which was to be done had been long resolved on, yet the method and manner how to bring it about, was often altered, as accidents and occasions did intervene) when he heard of the treaty of the Marriage, but had not notice of the mystery of it, and moreover heard of the preparations for a War against Spain, he began to be suspitious that the King had forgotten his former kindness and excellent instructions and therefore ordered his Nephew Cardinal Alexandrino in his return from Spain, to debate the butiness with him. Whereupon the King affured him that he did all this to obey the instructions of P. Pius. But P. Pius lived not to receive this fatisfaction, or Catena in vita not long after, not to fee that joyful day which his fuccessor Pii, 5. Greg. 12. did, and kept with great joy and folemnity for the wished success of these Counsels. For the promoting where-

Da. p. 361: Answer to Philanax p.

Tou. l. 53.

In Minervæ

In Hadriani mole.

Aureos:

of, being perswaded by the Cardinal of Lorain, (and told that this Marriage was intended as a trap to defitor the Prince of Navar and his Protestant party) he presently gave bis dispensation for the celebrating of it, and encouraged the defign: which was as much as he could do at prefent, things being already ripe for execution. But having received an account of the Maffacre by letters from his Legate at Paris, he read bis Letters in the Confiftory of Cardinals, where prefently it was decreed that they flould all go directly thence to St. Marks, and there folemnly give thanks to Almighty God for fo great a bleffing conferred upon the Roman See and the Christian world; and that the Monday following a pub. lick Thanksgiving should be celebrated in the Church of Miperva, and that the Pope and Cardinals should be at it; and thereupon a Jubilee should be published throughout all the whole Christian World, and among other causes thereof expressed, this was the first, To give thanks to God for the defiruction in France of the enemies of the Truth, and of the the Church. Toward the evening the Guns were fixed at St. Angelo, Bonefires every where made, and nothing omitted of those things which used to be done upon the greatest victories for the Church of Rome. Two daies after there was a Proceffion to St. Lewis, with very great refort of the Nobility and people; the Bishops and Cardinals going before; then the Switzers; then the Embassadors of Kings and Princes; then under a Canopy the Pope himself, a Deacon Cardinal on either fide him, and the Emperors Ambassador bearing up his train, and a troop of Knights and Gentlemen following. Being come to the Church, which was adorned with more than ordinary magnificence, Mass was said by the Cardinal of Lorain, (who for the incredible joy which he conceived for the fo much defired news, had ordered a thousand \* Franks to be given to the Messenger, who was a Gentleman sent by his Brother the Duke of Aumale). Upon the Churchdoors was fet an Inscription, in which the Cardinal of Lorain, in the name of the King of France, did congratulate the Pope and the Colledge of Cardinals the most wonderful effects and incredible iffue of their Counsels and Affiffances. This

This done, Cardinal Urfin is appointed to go Legate into France, who speedily took his journey, and being come as Thu. 1.54. far as Lions, (where, next to Paris, was the most bloudy flaughter) he began to extol with many commendations, the Faith of the Citizens; and publickly praised Boidon, a most vile, wicked fellow, who afterward came to a death worthy of his wicked life, being executed at Clermont, but now was the ring-leader and principal promoter of the barbarous and horrid flaughters and murthers committed at Lions; and upon him he also, out of the plenitude of his (legatine) Etiam ei potepower conferred some of the Pope's favours and graces. And fatis plenitualthough by the King's Ministers (who were now much dine gratice beotherwise affected with the sense of the barbarous saugh- neficium imperters of their Country-men; than was the Pope and his Minifters) he was admonished to be very sober and sparing in his speech of the Massacre, yet could he not hold, but everywhere, both in private conference and in publick, to commend the King's prudence and magnanimity in that business: and so full was he of it, that being come to Paris, and endeavouring to perswade the King to the admission of the Council of Trent in France, he urged it with this as a most weighty argument, That the memo y of the late fact, which is: to be commended to all ages, as conducing to the glory of God, and the dignity of the holy Roman Church, might be as it were feated by the approbation of the boly Synod. For fo would it be minifest to all, who now are, or hereafter shall be, that the King consented to the destruction of so many tives, not out of baired or revence, or fense of any private injury of his own, but out of an ardent defire to propagate the ctory of God. That what could not be expected whilf the faction of the Protestants stood, now they being taken away, the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion. which by the Synod of Trent is cleared and defended from the tenome of the Sectaries, might be establish d beyond controver se, and without exception, through all the Provinces of the French Dominion. But the King had no mind to admit the Council, much -less to make that an occasion to perpetuate the memory of that fact which he was already contriving how to excule. And therefore was the Legate difmiffed without any effect as Powit His

to that particular, to the Pope's no great fatisfaction; yet he solaced himself with atchievement of the Massacre, which, because it had happened in the beginning of his Papacy, he reckoned a most prosperous omen, and among his greatest selicities. And to increase his comfort, the head of Colinius was sent him to Rome for a present.

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Thu. l. 54.

Thu. l. 52.

Seres p . 794.

47. But alas, in France, all men generally, and the King himself had already far other thoughts of that Tragedy; and the Legate found a far other face of things there at his coming, than he expected, and had left at Rome: for the King now more sensible of the foulness and odiousness of the fact, when done, (as is usual in such cases, the heinousness of fin feldom appearing to wicked minds till actually committed) was in great perplexity whether to own it or not, and how to excuse ir. And therefore it was long debated at Court, whether to admit the Legate at all, or by some handfome excuses to put him off without audience, though out of respect to the Pope, and to the person of the Legate, thought well affected to the interest of France, it was at last permitted, but not without such caution and admonition to him as hath been mentioned. For this unhappy King had no fooner accomplished these deep designs, from which he promised himself so great security, content and happiness, but he found himself surprized and involved in inextricable difficulties, perplexity and misery. And besides the daily secret borrors of bis mind and conscience, which appeared in their nocturnal effects and productions, disturbing and intersupting his sleep with direful and frightful dreams, which drove him to the use of Saul's remedy, by Musick to refresh and quiet his disturbed spirits, that anxiety which arose in his mind after the fact committed, from his fears and doubts of what might be the ill consequence of it, was now no less than his hopes had been before of that happines and tranquility which he had promiled himself that he should obtain by it. For though he had before promised himself great security by the destruction of the heads, and flaughter of fo great a party of the Protestants, yet having done the deed, that desperation into which he apprehended his perfidious cruelty had driven those who remained.

Thu. 1. 57.

1 Sam. 16.

mained, and by the articles of the last agreement of Peace held Rochel and other strong places in their possession, rendred them not a little formidable to him, and perplexed his mind with doubts and fears of new troubles from fo just and great provocation. These cares of what might be the consequence of this action at home, were increased and aggravated by his apprehension of what effects so barbarous an act Thu. 1. 53. (which is reported to have filled with flupor and amazement, the Great Turk himself at the hearing of it) might produce in his neighbours abroad, lest they thereby might be moved out of commiseration to fend their aid and relief to his fo injuriously oppressed subjects. Wherefore all ways and means were studied and devised to give some satisfaction to the Protestants at home by treaties and favourable Edicts, (though his former often and foul breaches of his Faith made this very difficult) and to excuse the foulness of the late fact both to them and to the Princes and States abroad. It had been Thu. 1. 52. confidered before-hand, out of that fenfe and pre-apprehention they had of the wickedness and foulness of the design, how to cast the imputation of it upon the Guises, who also out of the same sense and pre-apprehension endeavoured all they could to avoid the odium of it. And being done, the King immediately, whether affrighted and terrified, fays Thuanus, with the atrocity of the fact, or fearing the odium of it, dispatched his Letters to the Presidents of the Provinces, to lay all the blame upon the Guifes, alledging that it was done without his privity or confent; that they, fearing that the friends and relations of Colinius would revenge the injury done to him upon them, had tailed the rumule, which he was not able to repress in time; with a great deal to this purpole. And to the fame purpole were Leite's written by the Queen, and fent not only through France, but alfo to the Helvetians, and disperfed through England, and in divers pares of Germany. But as it usually happens upon the perpetration of fuch horrid crimes and wickedness, that the authors of them diffracted with the horrors of their guilty conscience, when they find no fatisfaction or affurance of fecurity in any course they take to conceal or palliate their crime, continually devise and attempt new ways and means,

Cicarel. in vita Greg. 13. Thu. l. 53.

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and by their often change and inconstancy to any, promote that discovery which they seek to evade; so it happened in this case. For as these Letters were disproved by his express commands, which, as Davila relates, he had but few daies before fent out; so doth he now again in few days after contract the same, and in full Senate declares that all was done by his own will and command, and orders fo much to be entred of record in the publick acts of the Court. And though to the Pope and Spaniard he owned that he did it upon the score of Religion, yet knowing that with others, this would not fo much excuse as aggravate and increase the odium of it. some other cause was to be devised and pretended. And therefore first to extenuate the fact, he pretends that his commands extended only to the cutting off of Colinius and his Confederates, which thing being once undertaken, the tumult at Paris proceeded further than he intended, or was able, fo foon as he defired, to refrain; and that other Cities taking example from thence, did the like without his license, and to his great grief and trouble; and then for the cause presends a Conspiracy against himself, his Mother and Brothers, and Navar himself, and to make Conde King, and afterwards tokill him also, and fet up Colinius. And though the causes pretended against Colinius, in the judgment of the most prudent men, who were not at all addicted to the Protestant party, Tays Thuanus, had not so much colour of truth as will perswade even children to believe them, much less any sufficient proof; yet to put some colour upon the business, a Trial was ordered to be had in form of Law; and two days after a Tubile (as hath been faid) was appointed and an Edici published, wherein the King declares, that what had happened was done by his express command, but not out of hatred to the (Protestant) Religion, or to derogate from the Edicts of Pacification, which he fill defired should be inviolably and religiously observed; but to prevent the Conspiracy of Golinius and his Confederates, & c. and Letters to like purpose were fent to the Prefidents of the Provinces, declaring, as was pretended, the TRUE causes of the tumult, and commanding them to treat the Protestants in all friendly manner, &c. And that nothing might be wanting, fays Thuanus, to the height

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height of midnes, that they might feem to glory and triumph in fo detellable an enterprise, in emulation of the ancient Emperors, Medals were counted with the Inscriptions, VIRTUS IN REBELLEIS & PIETAS EXCITAVIT JUSTITI-AM. Divers other such like arts were used to put a face upon the bufiness, and make it look like a happy prevention of some terrible Conspiracy. But what was the most detestable of all, by the accumulating of fin upon fin, as is usual in foch cales, was the gross abuse of Justice it self, whereby the Courts of Justice were drawn into the participation of the guile, by an horrible and abominable Sentence, not only against Colinius who was dead, but his children who were alive; and allo against Monsieur de Brignemaut, who had fled to the Englife Ambassadors; and Arnald Cavagnes Master of Requests, who had hid himself hard-by with a friend, who admonished him of the danger, but were both taken and imprifined in the Palace, and the same day that Sentence was given against Colinius, were condemned to death, which Cavagnes fuffered with admirable contlancy, reciting Prayers out of the Pfalms by heart, in Latin, for three hours together, with his eyes fleadily fixed towards Heaven: but his companion at first, affrighted with his approaching death, made an unworthy offer for the redemption of his life, to discover a means how to surprize Rochel; yet afterwards, when the King refused that condition, but offered him another, which was, that he thould acknowledg himfelf guilty of the crimes objected to him, and confess before the people that there was a Conspiracy entred into by Colinius against the King, he refuled that, and chose rather to suffer death, which accordingly he did with Cavagnes. While thele & fuch like artswere used to excuse and disguise the business at home; to do it abroad, befides the Queens Letters above mentioned, were several Ambaffadors employed in Helvetia, Germany, England, Poland, and other foreign Countries, where they either refided before, or were lent on purpole for this service, and Learned men Suborned and perswaded to do it by printed Books. But all thele, not having any centain ground of truth, as a conte mon foundation for all to build upon, while each alledged, not what he did know or believe to be true, but what his own M 2

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genius dictated as most plausible and likely to put some colour upon the bufiness: some extenuating the fact as to the King's acting in it; and others on the contrary justifying the same; some excusing it only by way of recrimination for things done in the late Wars, and others infifting upon the pretended conspiracy of Colinius; were not only consuted by others, who also in print answered their writings and speeches. but of themselves betrayed and detected the vanity of their feveral pretences and allegations, by their inconfiftency and disagreement one with another. The Learned Lawyer Fr. Baldwin was hereunto follicited, but was more ingenuous than to be retained in the patronage of fo foul a cause: and vet among those who undertook this office besides the Mercenaries, were forme persons otherwise of honour and repute, who, because what was done could not be undone, partly to confult the credit of their King and Countrey, partly to accommodate the present state of affairs, endeavoured either by feigned praifes, or officious excuses, to cover and palliate that fact which in their hearts they detected. And some were therein to far transported, and over-thot themselves, out of zeal for the honour and good of their Countrey, that our ingenuous author deplores their actings in it, especially as to that foul bufinels of the Trial and Sentence above-mentioned. But generally the French Courtiers, who were more ingenuous than to profitute their reputation by afferting that pitiful pretence of the conspiracy, yet used all their art to reprefent the case, as a sudden accidental thing, and not so long before contrived as the Italians and Spaniards relate.

48. It is very usual and even natural to men, especially to the more considering minds, when any thing rare and extraordinary doth occur, not to rest satisfied with the bare contemplation of the thing, but also to rest of back, and enquire into the causes of it. And therefore since Thuanus relates that the more prudent of ibose, who, being no way addicted to the Protestant party, with good and honest meaning sought how to excuse this execuable fact, yet in their heart detecting the same, did also sectionly consider the causes of it, their sense and judgment in that respect may likewise deserve our observation.

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vation. They faw apparently that so infamous and perninous counsels could not proceed but from minds fo firangely infatuated and blinded, and did feem to argue a special judgment of God upon them. And of that, the causes to which it might be reasonably attributed were very obvious and easy to be discovered. For such was the profanenels, debauchery and wickedness, which prevailing in the King, (through his evil Education by his Mother and those Tutors to whom the committed him ) and in the Court, were by the evil example thereof derived to the City, and thence to the Countrey-Towns and Villages, and so diffused through the whole Kingdom, as could not but provoke the Holy Majesty of God to fend down his judgments upon them. This is the fum of their judgment, only he gives more particular instances in the sins of common Swearing, Adultery and Fornication, to which others add many more, and tell us in general, that then never was there any more vicious or more corrupted Court. And indeed, those were such causes, as, being to obvious and notorious, no ferious Christian believing, and instructed in the Sacred Scriptures, but would readily affign in the case. For thus doth St. Paul inform the Ro- Rom. 15 mans, of fuch as hold the truth in unrighteousness, (and our Romanists might do well to be admonished by it) that because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, their foolish heart was darkened, and he gave them up to the lufts of their own hearts, to vile affections, and to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient, being filled with all Injustice, Fornication, Murder, Deceit, breach of Faith, &c. What ever be the profession which such men make of Religion, most certain it is, that there is either great error and corruption in their Religion, or little fincerity and life in their profession, or lastly, such impotence in the professors, that the prevalence of their sensual affections doth eafily over-power and falcinate their reason; which argues their defertion by that Sacred Spirit which infuses light and life, and heat and power into humane souls, as they are dispofed to receive it, no less than doth the Sun communicate its kind influences to the corporal and animal nature. And as this ...

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this doth maturate and sweeten crude and sour fruits, and confirm and strengthen the tender plants; fo doth the where it is indeed heartily embraced, admirably dispose mens minds to fweetness and tranquility in themselves, to sweetness and devotion to God, to sweetness, kindness and benignity to men; and makes these dispositions strong and powerful in them. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is power: it informs the mind and understanding, it reforms the will and affections, and transforms the whole man into its own like-These are the fruits of the Spirit by which we are to judge of the tree. This is that whereby all true Christians have a real and internal, not meetly external or political, communion and union with their Head Christ Jesus, and through him with the fountain, from whom, by him, it is derived to all his true members; (of his fulness we all receive), and one with another, they are all partakers of the same Spirit, (a nearer alliance than that of bloud) and are filled with a tender affection to all the children of the fame Father, and love to all the creatures of their great Lord, and for his take even to their enewies, to those that persecute and injure them; pitying their blindness and madness, and desiring their conversion, not destruction. But no sooner or further is any man deferted by this bleffed Spirit, or devoid of his sweet influences, but he presently becomes so much the more obnoxious to all the malevolent aspects of wicked spirits, and is impregnated and filled with the poison of their infections, which excites and exalgitates to exorbitancy his fenfual affections, dementates his understanding, and continually foments and promotes the affimulation and likeness of their own nature in him, cherishing and fructifying the roots which are in him, of Pride, Ambition, Envy, Malice, Revenge, Perfidiousnels, and all manner of lufts and wickedness, according to his particular disposition. And because there is so strong and powerful a propenfity to Religion rooted and fixed in the very nature of man, as is very difficult, if not impossible utterly to extirpate or depress this in such a person, is by the subtil operation of these agents, either, if more languid and remis, diver-

diverted, by exciting him to an eager profecution of his othermore firong inclinations; or, if more intense and active. perverted either into superstition, or some other conceived heroick acts of a partial Religion, confishing and concurring with the fatisfaction of his other inclinations: whence ordinarily proceeds much of that heat and zeal which we frequently fee in men for their several parties, for the shells and out-fides of Religion; for opinions and notions, no more necessary to be known and determined to make men compleat Christians, than the speculations of Philosophers; and often for pernitious and destructive principles, especially in the Romanists; and inconsiderate endeavours, by fraud and injuflice, sedition or oppression, and violent persecutions, and fuch like most unchristian actions, for the advancement of the cause which they espouse; whereby they encourage themselves with secret hopes to expiate their licentiousness and indulgence to their own inclinations in other matters, and eafily perswade themselves that so long as they are such good Catholicks, or well affected to the truth and the cause of God and his Church, that all must needs be well with them. And hence proceeded this not only unchristian, but barbarous and inhumane, perfidious, bloudy action of Charles 9. Hence the suspition of his Brother and Successors Henr. 3. Hence all the licentioniness and wickedness which we see every where in the World. And to all this is no small occasion given by the complying Conduct, Commutations of Penances, and other practices of the Jesuites and other Romanists. But the same Apostle informs us of another cause near of kin to this, and no less effectual to the provocation of this judgment of obduration of mens minds, which is very likely to have had no little influence in this case: and that is the resisting, rejection, or not receiving and embracing of the Truth when offered: which he mentions in a paffage, which, if I be not much militaken, concerns the defection of the Church of Rome, and hath been to understood by the Christians in all ages, (though fomewhat obscurely and imperfectly, as is usual in the interpretations of prophetick writings before they be fulfilled); as well agrees with the conjecture. Because they receive better

1 Thef. 2.

receive not the love of the Truth, faith he, For this cause God shall fend them strong delusions. And this tis very likely had no small influence in this case. For if out of the Roman Religion we take all that which the Protestants receive and profess, which the Romanists must needs confess to be truly Catholick, the greatest part of the rest hath been either introduced, or so new modelled and accommodated to the secular interest and advantage of the See of Rome within this 600 years last past, as hath not only given occasion to most of the troubles and mischiefs in Europe ever fince, but very much injured, dishonoured and prejudiced Christianity it self. And when it pleased God by his providence, both long fince, and again of latter days, to raise up a people in the Confines of France, who retaining that which of all fides is confessed to be truly Catholick, rejected those nevel corruptions and abuses, (though perhaps with them some things which might be tolerated), and thereby gave fo fair occasion to the French upon further confideration, and with more mature deliberation on to reform the same, (as Queen Eliz. did here), that a great part of the most sober and pious of the French Nation, even Bishops and Cardinals, being thereupon sensible of the need of it, did earneftly defire and follicit the convention of a National Synod to that purpose; the French Kings were unhappily fo far wrought upon by the arts of Rome, as not only ungratefully to reject that benefit offered by the Divine Providence, but at last to persecute those who were made the occasions of it. And this seems to have been so manifest a cause of the troubles, mischiefs and adversities, which by the providence of God have befallen that Nation and their Princes fince the beginning of that Century, that it is firange (but that the height of contentions then on foot might perhaps hinder it) that neither those prudent considering men did take notice of it in this case, nor yet our judicious and candid: Author, who relates their judgment, and had himfelfrobferved almost as much in Lewis 12. If it be fit, says he, for a mortal man to speak his opinion concerning the eternal Counsels of God, I should say that there was no other cause why that most excellent Prince, in so many respects commendable and worthy of a better

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better fortune, should meet with so many conflicts with adversities, than that he bad contracted fo near alliance with Pope Alexander 6. and cherished the cruelties, lusts, perfidiousness, and fortunes of that impure Father (the Pope) and of his Son (Cæfar Borgia) a man drowned in all kind of wickedness: and then relating the King's calling of a Synod, upon his provocations by the next Pope Julius 2. (undoubtedly so ordered for the same purpose by the Divine Providence) first at Lions, and then at Pifa for the reformation of the Church and his medals coined with this Inscription, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, and how after all this he renounced the Council at Pila through the importunities of his wife, and subscribed to the Lateran Council to gratifie the next Pope Leo 10. and adding that in the judgment of many be bad done more advisedly if be had persevered in his purpose of reforming the Church, he concludes; These therefore were the causes both of the declination of our Empire, and of the adverse fortune of Lewis: who after all his other missortunes died without ilfue male, which he much defired to succeed him. And in this King is very observable, that as there was in him no want of magnanimity, humane prudence, or care for himself, the glory of his Kingdom, and prosperity of his affairs, to which his misfortunes could be imputed, which makes the judgment of God therein the more apparent; so neither could any vice or other fault be noted in him, which might be affigned as a cause of that judgment, but what is here mentioned, the neglect of that duty whereunto he was so fairly led, and whereof he was so far convinced, as that he began to put it in execution. In the time of his successor Francis 1. all things feemed to conspire in giving occasion every where to the Reformation of the Church, what through the Pope's differences with feveral Princes, which produced the abolition and abrogation of the Papal Authority for some time in Spain, and afterward in England; what through that abominable imposture of Indulgences and other their gross wickedness and abuses, which provoked Martin Luther and other learned men to fearch into, and detect their mystery of iniquity, and discover many gross errors and abuses crept into the + He married bis Son Henr. 2. to Katharine of Medices daughter to Lawrence was Nephew to Leo 10. and Cou-In to Clem. 7. + V. 2. Sett. 39. pag. 56,

the Church, whereupon enfued the Reformation happily begun and promoted by many Protestant Princes and Cities in Germany, and other parts. But Francis not only neglected the occasion, and rejected and made himself unworthy of the common benefit of it, but moreover contracted that \* alliance... with the Popes, and at last began those + persecutions, the unhappy confequence of both which we are now relating. [Nor was the King of Spain much more happy in his perfecutions D. of urbin, who of the Protestants in the Low-Countries, the consequence whereof was the loss of the best part of them; and all he got by the Inquifition in Spain, was but the exclusion of light and truth from his people, and his own flavery to the firong delutions and infatuations of the Jefuites, who precipitated him into divers dishonourable, unsuccessful, and to his

own affairs pernitious undertakings.

49. But to return to the effects and consequences of that bloudy act, whereof what hath yet been related, was but the first fruits of those Counsels from which so much happiness, tranquility and glory were fo long expected, inflead whereof was reaped only horror, shame and anxiety, whereunto succeeded a plentiful harvest of other real troubles. For the King and that Faction which prevailed at Court, after so many former breaches of publick Faith, by this fo inhumane cruelty and foul breach of Faith, fo much the greater, by how much the greater arts and deep diffimulation had been used before to raise a trust & confidence of their sincerity, had now driven those of the Protestants who remained alive to that distrust and jealousie (the usual fruits of perfidiousness) of what-ever Letters, Promites, Edicts, or other means could be devised to fatisfy them, that nothing could give them any affurance of their lives and fafety, but retaining those places which by the last agreement of Peace were left in their posfession for their security, (and were now, had the agreement been performed, to have been delivered) to frand upon their defence. And though many of them not only doubting of their strength, but making scruple of the justice of the cause, now fince not only the Princes of the blood, to whom the administration of the Kingdom did belong, were absent, but

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moreover the King himself was grown a man, did dispute against it, and from both those grounds urged all the arguments they could: yet against the first of these, the horror of there flaughters, which they had so lately seen, and did forefee, prevailed, and despair made the most timerous couragi-And this also made the answer which was returned by others to the latter, more fatisfactory to the reft; that to take up Arms for their just desence, not to offer violence to any, but only to repel the injury, and fave themselves from flaughter, was neither by the Laws of God or man unlawful; that it ought not to be reputed a war against the King, but a just defence against their enemies who abused the King's authority to destroy them, who if so powerful as to have proceeded so far in the late tumult beyond his consent or privity, or prevalent with him as to work his affent to fo unjust and foul an action, they had the more reason to secure themselves against their power and treachery, till justice should be done upon them; nor ought they to doubt, but in so just a cause upon their ferious repentance, trust in God, and humble supplications to him, he would graciously pity their misery, and provide some unexpected means for their relief. And therefore seeing La Charite was surprized at the time of the masfacre, and the same was attempted against Montabon, and being further warned by what was lately done at \* Castres, \* castrum in which after great promifes of fafety by the King, was not - Albigenfi agro." withstanding permitted to be plundered, and layed waste by the flaughters and rapines of Creufeta, Rochel, having for some daies kept a solemn fast, with divers other places prepare for their defence. And at last when arts failed, especially after the massacre at Burdeaux, in the midst of their treaties, the King's Forces were fent to affault them. And thefe (fays Thuanus, after a more particular relation of them) were the beginnings of the Fourth Civil War in France, the more memorable, because from so small beginnings, beyond the bope and expectation even of those who through necessity rather than upon counsel and design did manage it, when, so many Commanders being flain, the Nobility who remained dispersed abroad, and the people in all places aftonished, all was thought subdued, within the

the compass of a year, without the foreign aid of any Prince, and money every where after so great plunders failing them, it restored the offairs of the Protestants to good condition again. And yet this was only a defensive War on their part, and, as he says, of necessity, wherein those poor people fought only for their lives and fafety, and not to negled the King's commands, were willing to keep their meetings at Sermons only secretly in the night, and not openly in the day-time, which yet could not be denied them without manifest injustice and breach of publick Faith. But such were their apprehensions of the perfidiousness and cruelty of their enemies, and refolutions thereupon, that they chose rather to suffer all the miseries and necessities that humane nature is able to bear, than again to trust to the mercy or promises of them whom they had so often found perfidious, and moreover at last so barbaroufly inhumane and cruel. And therefore at Samerre it is almost incredible what they suffered. Having spent their stores, they killed and eat their Asses, Mules, Horses, Dogs, and all other living creatures they could meet with; and when that also was spent, they devised ways to make Hydes. Skins, Parchment, Bridle-rains, and what-ever was made of leather, edible; and Bran, Straw, Nutshels, the Horns and Hoofs of Beafts, even dugg out of the dunghils, and the very dung of Horses, and such things as scarce any other creatures will feed on; infomuch, that whereas in eight moneths fiege they had not loft 100 flain, in forty days above 500 died of hunger, and 200 more were famished almost to death. Rochel indeed was not driven to that extremity, partly having made better provisions for themselves, partly by an extraordinary supply, little less than miraculous; for all the time of the fiege, the tides, it being a Sea-Town, left the poor people fuch plenty of a kind of shell-fish, as very well supplied them with food; which, when the fiege was ended, prefently vanished, and were not seen in such plenty much longer. did they testify as great abhorrence of the perfidiousness and cruelty of their enemies, by their incredible courage and activity, even of their women in the repulse of several fierce affaults, and also in fallies: and in conclusion, the affailants

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sceking rather occasions how to raise the siege with credit, than having any hope to obtain the City by sorce, they came Thu. 1. 56. to this agreement for themselves, Montabon and Nismes, con- Da. p. 392. firmed by an Edict, That free profission of their Religion should be permitted them, according to the Edicis mude in behalf of the Protestants; their priviledges confirmed; no Garrison imposed on them; only the King should appoint them a Governor, and they should be governed by the Laws and Customs which they had used even fince they became Subjects to the Crown of France, &c. Some time after Samere obtained by agreement to enjoy the benefit of the Pacification made with Rochel, but paying 40000 l. for the saving of their Movables. And this end (lays our Author) bad this fourth Civil War after the tumult at Paris, when the Courtiers thought all subdued by that slaughter, begun and finished in the assaulting of certain Cities, and especially in the siege of that one City of Rochel, which for so many months did most stifly, beyond the opinion of all men, sustain, and at last break the strength and force of the whole Kingdom raised against it, besides Aumale, Tular, Cossens, Goabis Brother, and other, 40000 Souldiers (the very number faid by Davila to have been flain in the massacre) being slain, and dead of sickness, and among these 60 chief \* Commanders (and as some \* Ordinum Dufay, most of the actors of that tragedy) besides a vast deal of thores. mony and military provisions spent, and at last things being reduced to those streights, that the King contrary to what had before been falfly persmaded bim, thought bimself a greater gainer by that Peace, than by the Parisian slaughter. Such were the effects whether of the Italian Policy, or the Romish Doctrine of not keeping Faith with Hereticks.

50. He had no sooner ended this War, but he began to Tou. 1. 572 be grievoully afflicted with that fatal difease which in few months ffter put an end to his life, not without suspition of poison by his Mother and Brother Anjou, and besides in the mean time, by her arts, and the influences of the Guises upon her, was presently involved in a fit of Civil War. And this not only against the Protestants, whom having sufficient cause from former experience to beware of the perfidiousness and cruelty of their enemies, after other new occasions of suspition,

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the forced again to provide for their fecurity, and stand upon their defence, by a perfidious attempt to surprize Rochel by her emiffaries, who had corrupted some in the City to betray it to the Forces, which for that purpose they had drawn near it; but also against a confiderable party of the Catholicks, (as they call them) whom, while the thought it necessary for the continuance of her power and authority in the government. to keep up, and foment factions among the chief Nobility. the, by over-doing what the defigned, forced, for their own fafety and fecurity, to joyn their complaints and forces with the Protestants. Whereby (considering the division of that party) the in some fort repaired the loss which the Protestant party had sustained by the massacres; the Providence of God undoubtedly thus ordering it to manifest the vanity of their former hopes of peace and tranquility by fuch wicked courfes for the destruction of the Protestants, and to punish by their mutual diffentions among themselves, their former unanimity in perfecuting them. The chief of this party were the fons of the old Constable Momorancy, (in his time an active persecutor of the Protestants) the Viscount de Turenne, and others, whom the Queen, favouring the contrary faction of the Guises, continually by divers calumnies incensing and exasperating the King against them, and by other stratagems which they discovered, drove into despair of safety by any other means; which no doubt was not a little increased by the experience which they had feen of her perfidiousness and cruelty in the case of the Protestants, all men being suspitious of those whom they have observed false and perfidious to And to these Alancon the King's younger Brother, upon the same occations, besides some other causes of discontent, joyned himself as head. Besides those of the Nobility, there were swo other Subsidiary Factions in the Court. "one of those, who defirous by any means to retain the Reli-"gion of their Ancestors, and careless for any amendment or "reformation of it, did easily suffer themselves, in favour of "them who took up Arms under pretence of defending it, to be drawn in either by fraudulent interpretations to elude, "or plainly and altogether to violate the Faith, given to the "Pro-

Tox. 1.59. pr.

The other of those who would not depart "Protestants. "from the religion of their ancestors, but yet defired many things in it, in tract of time, through covetoulness and "gross ignorance, brought in to the dishonour of God, and offence of many, to be corrected; and therefore being more favourable to the Protestants, held that things ought "to be transacted in a friendly manner with them, that the "Faith publickly given them should be faithfully kept, and "that by any means peace, without which the business of re-"formation could not proceed, should be settled. The first " favoured the Guises, who sought all occasions of War, the "latter the Momorances, who perswaded Peace. Of this last opinion were those famous men Michael Hospitalius "Chancellor of France, Paulus Foxius, Christophorus Thu- Many others "anus, Christophorus Menilius, though they never engaged were of the fame "in Arms on either fide. And this was the party which mind, as Jo. were called Politicks, a name, faith our Author, by the fediti- of Valence, and ous attributed to them who were fludious for the good of the car. Marillac King and peace of the Kingdom, (li. 52.) and male contents. Arch-Bishop of "But that faction which defired flirs alwaies prevailing in Vienna. Thu. "the Court, hence it came to pals, that so many Edicts (of 1.25. "Pacification) were made one upon another, and as often "violated, the War being to often renewed, and with the fame levity where-with it was begun laid down again. "Whereof the King by this time became sensible, and obser-" ved, but when it was too late; that that unhappy maffacre Thu. 1. 57. "had, contrary to what was expected, disfolved the bonds of "peace and publick fecurity. And therefore with indigna-"tion perceiving that the Counfellors of it had more respect Sto the fatisfaction of their own private hatred and ambi-"tion, than to the publick Baith and quiet (of the Kingdom) without which he could never keep up his Royal Majefty, "being not a little incensed against them, he resolved from "that time to remove them from the Council, and to fend "away from him his mother her felf, under a more hongura-"ble colour of vifiting her fon Anjou in Poland, (whom he had newly, almost by force, thrust out of France, having, to be rid of him, procured him to be chosen King there). "And

" And believing that the Civil Wars in France were railed " not so much for the cause of Religion as through the factions of that Kingdom, & that the chief leaders of them were the "Guises and the Momorances, he resolved, without any regard of the Law, or the juttice of either cause, to deftroy "both these potent Families, being no less exasperated against "Guife than Momorancy, and therefore had often thoughts of "taking him out of the way. But in the midst of these troubles without, in his Kingdom, and others within, in his mind and body, after very grievous and long pains, so that long before his death he felt himself dying, he ended his life every way miserable, by that fickness which sew thought na-

Pauci naturalem ei rebantur, memores que Summus dissimulande artifex pre impatientia interminatus & matri & fratri effet, neq; ignari quam non sponte nonus Rex Galliam relinqueret, p. 441. in octav. and again, p. 493. Mortui corpus a Chiminuerunt. l. 57.

atural, but rather procured by his own Mother and Brother Anjou, as our Author doth sufficiently intimate, and was further remarkable by the effusion of his own bloud, who had so perfidiously and barbaroufly fhed the bloud of fo rurgis & medicis apertum; in quo livo- many of his subjects. Davilarsaith he multorum opinionem auxerunt patius quam began forme months before to spit bloud; others that he died of a Bloudyflux, and that much bloud iffued our of

all the passages of his body; and that he happened to fall down, and wallowed in his own bloud. And whereas Davila fays that he ended his life with grave and pious discourses. others fay that he ended it with imprecations and curfings, and that his last words were meer blasphemies. Whereof, which is most credible, the reader considering his natural temper, life and actions, may easily judge. He died under five and twenty years of age, without iffue male to fucceed him, leaving only a daughter by his Queen, with whom he had been above four years married, and a bastard-ton. And these were the fruits which he reaped of his bloudy and perfidious counsels and practices.

51. Nor did bis next Brother Anjou, called Henr. 3. reap any better fruits of his counfels and actions in the massacre and other enterprizes against the Protestants; who in great haste, upon notice of his Brother's death, shamefully stealing

Thu. l. 58.

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from his Kingdom of Poland, in his return to France was well admonished by the Emperor Maximilian, that at the beginning of his Reign, and first entrance into France, he should fettle peace among his subjects: and the same counsel was often repeated to him by the Duke of Venice in the name of the Senate. Yet he was no fooner arrived in France, but by the counsel of his Mother and the Guissan and Italian faction. (the same Cabal which contrived the massacre) he resolved the contrary, till finding it a work too hard by open force to destroy the remaining part of the Protestants, being moreover strengthened by the affociation of the Politicks with them, there was at last a Peace concluded upon such terms, as, Thu. 1. 62. had they been granted in fincerity, and juftly performed, Davila. 1.6. might have produced much happiness to that Kingdom. For. besides what related to the particular concerns of Alancon. D'Anvil, and others of the Politicks and male-contents, to the Protestants was granted full liberty of Conscience, and free exercise of their Religion, without exception of times or places, &c. and Towns for their fecurity till the Articles should be fully and perfectly performed. And these Articles were concluded by the Queen-Mother her felf in person, and confirmed by a publick Edict with all the folemnity that could be, the King himfelf being present in Parliament, fitting in his Throne of Justice. "But these Articles, says Davila, as soon "as they were known to those of the Catholick party, exaspe-" rated most of their minds in such manner, that they not only "murmured freely against the King himself and the Queen-"Mother, but many were disposed to rise, and would have " taken Arms to disturb the unjustness [ as they call it ] " of that Peace, which was generally by them effeemed " shameful, and not fit to be kept, if within a-while they had " not manifestly understood, that the King and Queen, pur-" pofely to recover and draw home the Duke of Alancon, " had confented to conditions in words, which they were re-" folved not to observe in deeds. For, (as he presently adds) "having exactly performed all things promifed to the Duke of Alancon, none of the other Articles were observed either "to the Protestants in general, or to the King of Navar and Prince

"Prince of Conde in particular: but the King permitting. "and tacitly confenting to it, the Affemblies of the Prote-" ftants were every where violently disturbed, &c. "Guises, who were not flack in laying hold of any opportu-"nity to augment their own greatness, and to secure the state of that Religion, which was fo ftreightly linked to their in-"terefts, began upon the conjuncture of fo great an occa-"fion, fecretly to make a league of the Catholicks, in all the Pro-"vinces of the Kingdom, under colour of oppoling the pro-"gress and establishment of herely, which by the Articles of "the Peace was so fully authorized and established. And this was the Faith of a Catholick Prince, whose Conscience was directed by the religious Jesuites, and so great a votary, that though a King, he would often make one of the Flagellantes, and was believed would have changed his Kingdom for a Cell, though Guise had never attempted to force him to it: this the obedience and loyalty of his Catholick Subjects. But this was nothing to what followed; for this was but the beginning of that Holy League, which may justly put to silence all clamours, and answer all calumnies against the Protestants in France, upon occasion of any miscarriages of theirs under so long and grievous oppressions and unjust persecutions; and was the pattern and precedent which was followed by that faction here, which the Romith Emissaries and Agents partly railed, and partly ruled, or fecretly influenced to promote their own defigns, as may be perceived by comparing fuch evidences and testimonies as are to be met with of their mysterious practices in their works of darkness, with their Principles laid down to undermine this Church and State, extant in printed Books. The form of the League may be feen in English at large in Davila and Fonlis, to this effect ! The Covenant of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion, for the entire restitution of the Law of God, and preservation of his boly worship, according to the form and rites of the boly Church of Rome, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary to it. 2. For the preservation of King Henr. 3. and his Successors, in the State, Honour, Splender, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience due to them, &c. 3. For the restitution of their ancient rites, liberties

and .

Thu. L. 611. Busheq. epift.20

Lib. 6. p. 449. Lib. 8. 6. 2. p. 496.

Tbu. 1.63.

and priviledges to the Provinces of the Kingdom, &c. In cafe there be any opposition against this aforesaid, or any of the Co. venanters, their friends or dependants be molefted or questioned for this cause, by whomsoever it be, all that enter into this Covenant shall be bound to imploy their lives and fortunes to take vengeance upon them, either by way of justice or force, without any exception of persons what ever. They who depart from this Covenant shall be punished both in body and goods. All shall likewise swear to vield ready obedience and faithful service unto that Head which shall be deputed, and to give all help, counsel and affiftance, as well for the maintenance of this League, as for the ruine of all that shall oppuse it, without exception of persons; and those that fail shall be punished by the authority of the Head, &c. All the Gatholicks of the several Cities, Towns and Villages shall be secretly advertised by the particular Governors to enter into this League, and concur in providing Men, Arms, and other necessaries, Oc. Into this League, (framed with fo much art, that ma- Davila, p. 451. king a flew to obey and maintain the King, it took from him all his obedience and authority to confer it upon the head of their Union, as Davila notes,) when many were engaged in France, they began secretly to treat at Rome for Protection. and in Spain for men and money; nor did they find in either place any aversness to their desires. And though they pa.p. 461. thought it unfit to dispute openly whether the States were su- V. Thu. 1.63. perior to the King or no, yet while these things were acted in fecret without his knowledge or confent, they fought cunningly (by a kind of cheat) to take away bis prerogative, and (with his confent) to fettle it in a certain number, who should have power to conclude and determine all business without contradiction or appeal; and to that end \* petition the King, \* At the Asemthat for the dispatch of all business with speed and general bly of the States fatisfaction, he would be pleased to elect a number of Judges at Blois (which not suspected by the States, who, together with twelve of such who had the Deputies, might hear fuch motions as from time to time subscribed to should be proposed by every Order, and conclude and resolve the Catholick upon them, with this condition, that what-ever was joyntly League.) determined by the Judges and Deputies together, thould have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be altered

Thu. 1. 62,

altered or revoked; which had been in effect to unking him. and leave him little more than the title. But the King not ignorant of the importance of that demand, became sensible of their defigns, and of his own danger, which more manifeftly appeared in certain secret instructions to Nic. David, with which he was fent to the Pope concerning the deposing of the King, and thrusting him into a Monastery, and setting up Guise in his place, &c. which being taken with David in his journey, and published by the Protestants, were not believed at first, till the same being also sent to the King of Spain, the French Ambassador there happened to get a copy of them, and fent them to his Master, as Thuanus relates from his own mouth. The King therefore returns them a wary answer, such as though not altogether denying their demand, yet gave them no great satisfaction. But though they failed in this attempt to unking the King with his own confent, yet they resolved, though without, or contrary to his consent, not only to moderate the last articles of Peace, but to break them utterly, and again with more force than ever to begin the War against the Protestants, whereby they brought the King to this necessity, that he must either plainly and openly break his faith given to the Protestants, (which he had done before only by connivance) or engage with them in a more dangerous War against the Leaguers. And divers disswaded him from breach of his Faith, among the rest William Lantgrave of Hesse, besides the reason he gave him in mind of that late and memorable example of Ladiflaus 4. King of Hungary, who having Iworn a Truce with the great Turk Amurath 2. being perswaded by the Pope and Cardinals, out of a vain hope that they could absolve him from the obligation of it, perfidiously broke it. Whereupon in the first encounter (the Turk lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and calling to Christ to behold and punish the perfidious dealing where-with his followers had dishonoured him) he was himself slain with 30000 of his men: on the other side the French Theologists did openly both in Sermons and printed Books contend that the Prince is not obliged to keep Faith with. she. Hereticks, alledging to that purpose the Decree of the Counci

Tou. 1. 63.

Council of Constance, and therefore War is to be undertaken to extirpate them. And by the advice of the Bilhop of Lymoges and Morvillier (sometime Bishop of Orleans) the King determined, fince he could not by open refistance hinder the deligns and progress of the League, (which already had taken too deep root) to make himself Head and Protector of it, and draw that authority to himself, which he saw they endeavoured to fettle upon the Head of the League, both within and without the Kingdom; which accordingly he did, caufing it to be read, published, and sworn in open affembly, and with high protestations declared that he would spend his last breath to reduce all his people to a unity in Religion, and an entire obedience to the Roman Church: which done, he without much difficulty prevailed with Navar and the Protestants to yield to some restraints of the publick exercise of their Religion. And thus by a new Edict of Pacification, were things in \* fome fort quieted for fome time.

52. But after the death of Alancon the King's youngest Bro- midst of peace ther, who died without iffue, and not without suspition of nothing but the poison, in the flower of his age, being about thirty, (wherein herefie was we may take notice, by the way, of the Divine Vengeance by daily threatendegrees extirpating that Family, which fo wickedly fought ed. Da. p. 479. the extirpation of the Protestants) the King having no iffue, nor like to have any, (notwithstanding all his visits and sup. Busbeq. ep. 5. plications at the Monuments of Saints and Religious places) whereby the Crown was likely to descend to the King of Navar, a Protestant Prince, who was next heir to it, the Leaguers presently begin new troubles, the Preachers from the Pulpits fill Thu. 1. 80. their hearers minds with fears and jealousies, meetings are every where held, Souldiers secretly listed, and Officers appointed, and the more to enrage the people, while the Preachers fill their ears with the noise of approaching dan- This. 1.81. gers, dreadful and horrid representations of most terrible persecutions which the Catholicks are said to suffer in England, are presented to their view, both in printed Books, and also in Cuts and Pictures which are set up in publick places, and persons appointed to relate the sad stories of them, and tell the people that thus it will be also in France, if the King of Na-

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var be admitted to the Kingdom; and therefore to fecure themselves of a Catholick King, they resolve to set up the Cardinal Bourbon for head of the League at present, and to succeed the King in case he should die without issue. the better to strengthen themselves they renew their League with the Spaniard, and having fuddenly raised a confiderable Army, contrary to the King's express prohibition by his Edict, they begin to make themselves Masters of many Cities and Fortreffes, some by secret practices, some by open force of Arms, driving out the King's Governors and Officers, and in short time, through the fury of the people, and great converse of the Clergy in favour of the League, became so formidable to the King, that he was forced to a new agreemens with them against the Protestants, to banish their Preachers, conficate their effates, and with all speed denounce a War against them, wherein such men should be made Commanders, as the League should confide in, and a great deal more, partly against the Protestants, and partly to strengthen their own party. This agreement was made by the King only to comply with his present necessity, and not with any intention to perform it. For being now out of hope of iffine himfelf, he resolved to further Navar's right, and to unite himself with him, as his lawful Successor, and make him partaker in matters of Government, to which end he held fecret correspondence with him. But the Leaguers force bim to go on with the War; and upon the score of his treaty with Navar raise great clamors and calumnies against him, that the cause of Religion is betrayed, the Protestants openly favoured, the course of the War interrupted, and that the King shews openly that his mind is averfe to the Catholick party, and that he defires by all means to cherish and maintain heresy. And now the minds of the people are more than ever inflamed against his person and proceedings, which were publickly inveighed against in the Pulpits, and particularly slandered in private meetings, but especially by the Priests at the secret confestions of the people, whom they refused to absolve, un-

less they would enter into the League; and for the more secret carrying on of the business, intrusted in this new Dostrine,

Da. p. 535.

Da. p. 516.

Da. p. 557.

Da. p. 598.

Da. p. 600:

Da. p. 606.

Thu. 1. 86.

that as well the Penitent, who shall reveal what he hears from his Confessor, as the Confessor who reveals what the Penitent confesseth, doth incur the guilt of mortal fin. From calumnies and slanders they proceed to conspiracies and actions. And at Paris they fet up a new Council of fixteen, which hold Da. p. 606. their fecres meetings, first at the Colledg of Forlet, commonly This 1. 86. called the cradle of the League, afterwards at the Colledge of the Dominicans, and at the Jesuites Colledge they plot to furprize Boulogne, and there to admit the Spanish Fleet prepared against England. They also confult about taking the King bim- Da. p. 609. felf, as he returned from the Boys de Vincernes with a small Thu. 1. 86. guard. And both these enterprizes being discovered to the King, failing, they let up a seditious Preacher to inveigh Thu. L. 87. against the King and his Counsellors, and not doubting but thereupon the King would fend to apprehend him, they determine upon that occasion to ffir up the people, and thereupon take up arms and defiroy both him and those about him, who were faithful to him. Which in part proceeded, and perhaps had been accomplished, if the King had not timely recalled those he had employed: whereupon he was advifed to depart from Paris, which he did; but not long after returning thither, he is presented with a Petition, which at a Consultation at Nancy (where it was concluded that Guise Da.p. 668. and the other confederate Lord, should not enter to oppose Thu. 1. 90. the King at the very first) was so contrived, that if he granted it, their defires would be effected without noise or trouble: and if he refused, he should thereby give them occasion and opportunity to make use of arms, and to acquire that by force, which he would not confent to of his own accord. And though the King did not fo much refuse, as by excuses delay to answer it, the Preachers labour to cast all the odium they can upon him, inveigh against him as favouring the hereticks, and on the other fide highly extol and magnify the Catholick Princes, fo they called the Guiffans. And Guife his coming to the City is by frequent Letters much importuned; which though, according to the former conclusion, he at prefent deferred, yet were some experienced Souldiers fent to them, he not being willing to trust to the City Commanders :

manders alone. And now reckoning their firength 20000 men, there is a new Conspiracy to fall upon the Louvre, and killing the guard, and all about him whom they suspect, to feize upon the King. But this was also discovered, and the Council of fixteen, who thought there might be some hazard in that, resolve upon a more safe course, to seize upon him when he should be in procession, as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, and thut him up in a Monastery with a strong Guard; and in the mean time a report should be spread abroad, as if the King was taken away by the Protestants, at which the people should take up arms and fall upon the Politicks, and those they suspected. And this being also discovered, the King consults how to secure himself against the Conspirators. In the mean time the Duke of Guise unexpectedly comes to Paris contrary to the King's command. And while the King feeks to ftrengthen himself, and preventing the Leaguers to secure the most important places of the City, the Parifians are raifed at the ringing of the Bells, make Barricadoes cross the streets, come up to the Louvre, and begin to affault it. Whereupon the Queen-Mother goes to Guise in her Sedan, being denied pasfage in her Coach, and confers with him, but brings back nothing but complaints, and exorbitant demands. But the fiege pressing much on the one side, when it was seared they would likewife befiege it on the other, the Queen-mother going again to Guise, and having notice by the way that 15000 men were preparing to enclose the Louvre on the other fide, holds him in a long treaty, while the King with 26 Gentlemen steals learetly away to Chartres, to the no small grief of Guise and the Leaguers who had loft to fair an opportunity. Whereupon they secure and strengthen Paris, lay siege to the Boys de Vincernes, which yielded without resistance, as did also St. Cloud, Lagny, Charranton, with all the other neighbouring Towns. The King being again reduced to his former straits of accepting the affishance of the Protestants, or yielding to fuch terms as the Leaguers would please to give him, aster long confultation at length resolved to use the same means, against Guise, which be remembred had been used in the reign of his

His Brother Charles against the Admiral College, and his Adherents, and to that end feigned to confent to the opinion of those who perswaded him to unite himself to the Duke of Guife. And having upon a treaty concluded a Peace upon almost the same conditions which were contained in the Petie Tou. 1. 91: tion framed at Nancy, he receives Guile much after the fame manner that his Brother did Coligny, with great expressions of honour, causes the Edict of the Union to be presently published, the War against the Protestants proclaimed, for the profecution whereof, according to the Atticles of the Peace, two several Armies were appointed. Guises archievements were highly magnified by the Leaguers in France, and no less by the Pope at Rome, who fent to him and to the Cardinal. Bourbon bis Congratulatory Letters, full of high prailes, which were presently published in print, and dispersed abroad. Wherein he commends their piety and zeal in promoting the business of Religion, comparing Guise to the Holy Maccabees, the defenders of the people of Ifrael, to highly extolled, in the Sacted Scriptures, and exhorting him to continue fuccessfully and gloriously to fight for the advancement of the Church, and the total extirpation of the Protestants, acquaints him with his own uncessant prayers for the Divine affiftance to him, adding that nothing could be more feafonable for the present occasion, than that he should have his Legate in France, by whose means and authority their endeavours might be promoted for the good of the Kingdom, and of the Catholick Religion. And if any thing thore be necessary to be done by him, he desires to be certified of it, who shall never be wanting to their caufe. Guife and the Leaguers being not a little animated by thefe things, the Affembly of the Thu. 1. 93. States of Blois, which was called upon this late agreement, and were most of the faction of the League, especially the Order of the Clergy, which did in a manner wholly incline to that fide, with great heat pronounce the King of Navar for his crime of berefy unworthy of the succession of the Kingdom: which being decreed by the Clergy, and upon their fignification and admonition universally subscribed by the other two orders, holding it a great fault in the cause of Religion to diffent from the

You. 1. 92. 14.1.10.

the Ecclefiafticks, the Arch-Bishop of Ambrun, with twelve of each Order, repair to the King, and delire that by his authority, and a publick Edict, the Decree may be confirmed. But the King utterly averse from it, though he would not plainly deny it, yet put it off as well as he could; but such was the obstinacy of the States, that he was forced at last to answer that he agreed to the general vote, and would think of caufing the Decree to be framed. Guife also with all his might urged the receiving of the Council of Trent, whereunto, though the King confented, yet was it rejected with great contradiction, not only by the Mobility, but by a great many of the Clergy. This was urged by him partly as a powerful engine against the Protestants, partly further to oblige the Rope, if it succeeded, and to raise a prejudice in him against the King, if it lucceeded not by his default. And to ingratiate himself the more with the people, he moves for ease of grice vances by impositions and taxes, though a thing inconsistent with the profequition of the War against the hereticks. But the King finding now a convenient opportunity to execute his delign, acquaints fome of his confidents with it, and has ving ordered all things to as to avoid the suspicion of Guile, much after the manner heretofore used against Colinius, he commands him to be flain, which was accordingly \* done; and the Cardinal his Brother being with many Lords and adthe biftory of the Herents of that Faction, at the fame time committed to cuffe-Maffacre. Sett. dy, was about two daies after by the King's command in like manner flain. Thus do those who had wickedly conspired the barbarous flaughter of to many innocent Protestants, now, by the just judgment and vengeance of God upon them, mutually conspire one anothers destruction. And that City which was then to forward in executing the wicked counfels and commands of favage and perfidious men, is now as forward in executing the just judgments of the righteous God upon one of the chief Authors of them; and they who before had been the infruments of his cruelty, are now made the infiruments of his punishment. 21 2 383 ve as 130 bent

\* The manner of bis death, fee in the notes upon 17.

Ma. l. 93. Da. l. 10.

52. Upon the news of their things found abroad, the Loaguers are all in an an unroar, and at Paris, having held a Council

Council where nothing almost was heard but reproaches against the King, and cries for revenge, the Duke of Annale is called out of a Monastery to be their Governor; the Preachers from their Pulpits thunder out the praises of the Dake of Guise his Martyrdom, and detestations of that flaughter most cruelly committed by the King soin fuch manner, that not only the minds of the bafer people; but also of the most noted Citizens were won by their perswasions, and inflamed with an infinite defire to take revenge; Thu. 1. 94: and the Council of fixteen cause a writing to be presented to the Da. p. 762. famous Colledg of Divines called the Sonbon, in the name of the Fonl.c. 5.9. 530. Provolt and Eschevins of the City, confaining these two Queffions. 1. Wbether they should not be free from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to Henry the third. And, 2. Whether they might not with Safe Conscience, arm, unite, collect and contribute money for the defence and confervation of the Roman Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, egainst the wicked counsels and endeavours of the King aforefaid, and all other his adherents whomfoever, and against his breach of publick Fairb at Bloir, &c. Whereunto upon mature deliberation at an affembly of seventy Masters of that Faculty, and solemn resolution, it was answered nemine refragante, 1. That the people of this Kingdom are free, and at liberty from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to King Henry aforefaid. 2. That the same people lawfully, and with fufe conscience \* may arm; unite, collect and \* Dav. p. 763. contribute money for the defence and confervation of the Catho that the King lick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, against the wicked conn- had forfeited his right to h: fels and endeavours of the aforefaid King, and whomfoever ad Crown, and bering to bim, fince be bath violated the publick Faith to the pre that his Subindice of the Catholick Religion, and of the Edict of the boly jects not only Union, and of the natural liberty of the affembly of the three night, but Estates of this Kingdom. Moreover, they think fit that this off their obe-Decree or conclusion be fent to the Pope, that he may by the dience, &c. authority of the holy See approve and confirm it, and afford his help and affistance. And accordingly a Letter is drawn Font. p. 533. up, and fent by the Parifians in the name of themlelves, and the rest of the Catholicks in France, wherein they represent to him the zeal of the people, " all good men being ready to

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Da. p. 763.

" lay down their lives rather than fuffer that Tyrapny; and the improvement doos of the Parifians filling the fireets with cries to Heaven for vengeance against the Tyrant; others "whipping the statue of the Tyrant, breaking it to pieces, Mand throwing it into the fire. And indeed after this De-"claration (to use Davila's words) the people as it were Shloolened from the bonds of obedience, and having broken I the rein of modelly yaw violently to the breaking down of the King indemit and Statiles where ever they found them. "and began furiously to feek out all those whom they ac-"counted dependants of his party, by them called Navar-

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rifts and Politicks, which forced many quiet men to leave their houses to fave their lives, which others were fain to " compound for with money, and others unfortunately loft : All Churches ecohold with voices of the Preachers, who \*Hence Charles " aggravated the parricide committed by \* Henry Valois, no "longer called King of France, but the Heretick, Tyrant, "and perfecuter of the holy Church; and all places were full of Libels both in verse and profe, which contained and am-"plified the fame things feveral ways." And the Council of fixteen, having prepared the Preachers to be ready, in case any tumult should arise, to appeale the people, cause all the Coun-Cellors of Parliament and Officers who adhered to the King. to be imprisoned in the Ballille, as enemies to the publick good. This done, they affertible a kind of Rump Parliament, which fubilitating others in the place of those they had secluded, make a publick Declaration for the deposing of the King, and a new Decree and Engagement of boly Union for defence of " the Catholick Religion, the fafety of Paris, and other uni-" ted Cities, to oppose those who, having violated the publick "Faith, had taken away the lives of the Catholick Princes, to take just revenge for their murther, and to defend the liber. ty and dignity of the States of France against all persons. whoever, without exception, &c. And this was proposed to be fworn to by all: whereupon there was prefently a general engagement throughout the whole Kingdom, and for a Head of the Union they make choice of the D. of Mayenne Brother to the late D. of Guise, who at the request of the Leaguers come

comes to Paris, where a Council of the Union confishing of 40 of the chief Leaguers, whole Orders all are to obey upon pain of death, being instituted, he is by the Parliament declared Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, and solemnly sworn to defend the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, the Royal State, the Authority of the Supreme Courts, the priviledges of the Church, and of the Nobility, the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, &c. In the mean time to heighten and inflame the odium of the people against. the King, nothing is omitted either in the Pulpit, or out of ir, by flanders, calumnies, and false reports. And while among other deviles they endeavour to represent him as a worthipper of Satyrs, and a Magitian, they exercise a kind of magick or witchcraft against him, devising religious execrations, and instituting strange superstitious rifes, women and. maids clad only in such fine linen that their bodies might be feen through it, and fome carrying burning tapers in their. hands, they lang over certain mysterious rithms with distonant and confused tones and voices, and then suddenly extinguithed their torches, as if they hoped or wished that the King's life should be thereby, or in like manner also extinguilhed; and a great deal such stuff too long to be here related. By these means were the people every where incensed. and enraged against the King; but especially by the new Do-Ctrines of the Preachers and Confessors were the minds of men generally to perverted, that they made it almost a sport to break Faith with him, and betray their truft, and many thought it their duty; fo that the Cities daily revolted from his obedience. At Bourdeaux the Jesuites for a conspiracy Thu. 1. 94. fin. and turnult railed there, were by the President of the Province expelled the City, to prevent the like for the future. And when from thence they repaired for refuge to Agen and \*Vesuna, those Cities thereupon presently rebelled. But the \* Vesuna Patrogreatest fury and rage of the people was at Tholouse, stirred cariorum. up, as was believed, by these new Theologists. While the Leaguers are thus buly both at home and abroad, the King is Thu. 1. 95. pr. not idle, but treats with bis Neighbour Princes and States for Thu. 1. 94. men and money, and to mitigate the fury of his own people,

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with great importunity and Submission, Solicits for absolution for killing the Cardinal, from the Pope, who was highly enraged against him, for that facrilegious at as he pretended, but probably more for killing the Duke, if that be true which the State of Venice, and the Dukes of Tulcany and Mantua certified the King, that the Pope and the Duke had agreed in fecres to marry the Pope's Niece to Prince Jonvil the Duke's Son, and to depose the King, thrust him into a Monastery, and make the Duke King in his place. His Ambassador going about this affair to Rome, was by the way admonished by the Duke of Tuscany, that the King should do well to trust more to his own forces and firength at home, than to the Pope's fayour; for if things succeedeed well with him in the beginning of those commotions in France, he should have friends enough at Rome, and among them the Pope himself; but if otherwise, he should find them his bitter enemies. And so it proved, for when this proud and infolent Pope, to gratific his own pride and ambition, and magnify his authority in the opinion of the people, had drawn on the King and his Minifters to do all acts of Submission and base prostration to him, as far as he could, he turned him off at last without any absolution, and not not long after began to proceed to Excommunication against him. Wherefore the King, when he could obtain no favour from the Pope, treats more openly with the King of Navar, and concludes an agreement with him, to the no little joy of all sober men, who thought there was no such way for fetling that Kingdom, as by this reconciliation of the King of France with Navar, the first Prince of the Bloud, the next Heir of the Crown, and an excellent General and Commander. Had he done this at first rather than so basely and foully broak his Faith, he had certainly by God's bleffing (which he might then with more reason have expected) prevented the growth of this faction of the League to this height, and most of this trouble to himself and his Kingdoms. But this now afforded new matter for the Preachers, and Writers to exasperate the minds of the people withal. And the Pulpits ring, and the Preffes sweat with virulent Sermons and Books against the two Kings. Among those who beftirred

Thu. 1. 95.

firred themselves in this kind were Father Comolet the Jesuit, Genebrard, Fr. Feu ardentius, and Bucherus famous for his Book de Justa Henrici 3 Abdicatione, and many others mentioned by our Author. And in their Sermons, befides those ways of moving the people by stirring up their passions of fear and hatred, they had another part to act, which was to encourage them to action by moving their hopes and expe-Cations, and this was done by acquainting them with the victories and happy progress, and prosperous success of their Armies and friends abroad, amplifying the same as much as might be. And what-ever news came, whether good or bad, the Preachers were generally the publishers of it; if good, to magnify, and fet it out to the best advantage; if bad, to teprefent it to the people as occasion served, partly comforting and encouraging them under the misfortune, and partly stirring them up to more forwardness, and greater affistance to the War. So that these matters were the general and ordinary subject of their Sermons. And besides these good lervices which they performed leverally, the famous Colledge of Sorbon it felf, by a publick Decree order that the Kings name, and the Prayers for him be put out of the Canon of the Mass, and instead thereof, other Prayers for the Catholick Princes be inferted, and that those who shall fay Mass otherwife than by this Decree is appointed shall be held for excommunicate, &c. And not to be wanting to the encouragement of his devoted Sons in fo meritorious undertakings, their good Father the Pope fends out his Monisory against the King, whereby he is excommunicate, unless within ten days he will do the Leaguers the kindness to set at liberty the Cardinal of Bourbon, whom they, having already agreed to the deposing of him, may set up for their King; and moreover make his submission within the term of 60 days from the publication of the Monitory, which was posted up in Rome the ... 18 . 1 ... 23 of May, and within a few days after published at Meaux Da. p. 811. ten leagues from Paris. These dealings of the Pope with the King feemed to hard and unreasonable to the Princes of Italy, that they advised the King no longer to treat with him as a Suppliant, but to deal with him according to his own rough The p. 430. nature,

Da. p. 811.

nature, and presently to seize upon Avignon and the County of Venicifine. But the King was nor a little grieved at it, and faid, "That he thought it very hard that he who had "ever fought and laboured for Religion should be rashly ex-"communicated because he would not suffer his own throat

" to be cut by the arms of his Rebel-subjects; and that those \* charles V. an- 55 who had & facked Rome, and kept the Pope himself pri-"foner, had never been excommunicated: to which the King of Navar, who was prefent, antwered; but they were victo-" rious, Sir. Let your Majesty endeavour to conquer, and be affured the censures shall be revoked; but if we be overcome, " we shalf all die condemned hereticks. Whereunto the King

affented, and all the by-fanders did the likes and upon that hope order was given that the Army should march; and the Kings offairs began to proceed very prosperously against the Leaguers. For having first by supplies coming in from the King of Navar put a stop to the D. of Mayenne's progress at Tours, and about the same time given a great defeat to the

Thu. 1. 96.

Da. p. 814.

D. of Aumale by the affiftance of La Noue (one of the chief Commanders of the Protestants) taken Gergeau, Piviers, Chartres, Estampes, Poissy, Montereau, Pontoife, and all such places and passages of the Rivers which were fit to strengthen

the City of Paris, or furnish it with victuals, he forthwith with an Army of 42000 fighting men laies close fiege to the City it felf, himself on the one side, and the King of Navar on the other; whereby the Parisians were so straitned and dejected, (though the Preachers used all their arts in their Pul-

pits to animate them, and the Priests and Friers themselves took up arms, putting themselves generally upon Military Duty), that there was no man but thought that within a few

days the King would be Mafter of it. Bur in the midft of this success, and height of his hopes, a zealous young Frier + Faques Clement, firred up by the Sermons which he heard daily against Henry Valois, the Tyrant and Persecutor of the

Faith, resolved in conscience, as hath been mentioned before, & exhorted thereunto by the Prior, (one of the chief Counfel-

lors of the League) and other Fathers of his Convent. moliant, but to deal with him eccording to his own rough him 2, 440.

+ D4 p. 816, 819. Thu. L. 96.

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(in all likelihood, not without the privity of the Catholick Princes), affirming to him that if he lived, he should be made a Cardinal; and if he died for freeing the City, and killing the Persecutor of the Paith he should without doubt he Canonized for Saint, by an expected stab, put an end to his hopes and his life together, within \* few days after the aforesaid term of 60 days, prefixed by the Pope, (who had foretold his unfortunate end) was expired, to the great joy of the Leaguers and the Pope, as hath (Sect. 34.) this account of the French Sect.

mon people.

It being unlikely that the chief men of the Union, and particularly the Prior, a trufty Counfellor of the Grand-Council of it, should not have confered about the fact with the Princes, and with their privity exhorted, and with effectual motives spurred on the simplicity of the Frier. Da. p. 819. v. Thu. l. 96. Serres, p. 879.

\* Duobus post mentibus & aliquot diebus, quam Pontisex hanc Sententiam excommunicationis tulerar. Cicarel. p. 446.

of the Leaguers and the Pope, as hath been related before, (Sect. 34.) this account of the French Story not being then The + Prior of the Convent was Father Edmond + Da. p. 857. intended. Bourgoin, who being afterward taken at Paris, and convicted Thu. 1. 98. by witness to have publickly (in the Pulpit) for several days together praised this murder in studied speeches, and to have counselled and instigated the murderer, comparing him also in his Sermons, after the fact, to Judith, and the dead King to Holofernes, and the City delivered to Bethulia; he was by judgment of the Parliament of Tours sentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his quarters burned, and his ashes scattered in the wind: which sentence was afterward severely executed. Not long after at Vendolme was taken, and likewise condemned to death, Father Robert Chesse a Cordelier Da. p. 861. (or Franciscan Frier), who had there publickly praised the Thu. 1. 97. King's murderer, and with his Sermons stirred up the com-

54. This end had Henry 3. when he had scarce lived out half his days, and in him thus dying without issue, (after 14 years Marriage, many visits to Saints, and the use of hallowed shirts and smocks for obtaining of issue), the whole life of Valois, his Bastard brother also, the Duke of Angolesme not escaping a violent death some years before by a stab. In this Thu. 1. 85. 1 King, besides the hereditary guilt of his Ancestors descended upon him, there are two things especially observable in his own actions, whereby he involved himself in the participation of

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\* Da. p. 777. Thu. l. 94.

+ Eoruma; (Lotaringorum) in gratiam præcipuus author & fuafor Parifienfis lanienæ riari fæpius auditus est. Thu. 1. 96.

\* Thu. l. sr.

the common guilt of his Family, and aggravated the load of it upon his own head: the one during the Reign of his Brother, in the Maffacre, wherein he was both a Counfellor and an Actor; the other after he came to the Crown himfelf, in his breach of publick Faith with the Protestants. Of both which we may observe a very correspondent and exemplary judgment and punishment. His fickness of a \* Blondy-flux for some time before he was stabbed, his death without iffue, and ere be had lived out balf bis days, may perhaps have refor to his Grand-fathers and Fathers fins, feeking by bloudy courses to excirpate the Protestants; because these were not peculiar to himself, but common to him with his other Brothers. But when we see that very City of Paris, where the Protestants, with the concurrence of his + counsel and asfistance, had been so furiously destroyed, now no less furious against him; that City which to others had given example of cruelty against the Protestants, now gives them example of rebellion against him; and him on the other fide no less enraged against it, saying but the day before that fatal stroke. fuisse creditur, that he hoped within a few days there should be neither walls de qua & glo- nor houses, but only the very foot-steps of Paris: when we fee almost all those who had been the executors of that Massacre. and were not cut off at the Siege of Rochel, (as most of them were, of the common fort especially) now engaged in Arms against bim; and those who had joyned with him to destroy the Protestants, now conspiring his destruction: when we fee him excommunicated by the Pope, whose pretended authority is the principal part of that Religion, which with fo much cruelty and perfidiousness was sought to be established by that Massacre. Lastly, when we see, after all imaginable injuries and indignities offered him, his murder not only plotted and counselled by the chief of the Grand Council at Paris, but also executed by an Emissary sent from thence. by a religious Zealot of that Religion, for which himself hadbeen so barbarously cruel, and in that \* very place at St. Cloud, Serres p. 789. where some time the Council of the Massacre had been held: This we may, not without reason, look upon as the just judgment of God upon him, for his wicked dealings in that barbarous

barous Maffacre. Again, when we fee his Popish Subjects every where break faith with him, and all bonds and oaths of Obedience and Fidelity to him, and teach and hold it to be their duty so to do: when we see them, through whose importunity he had violated the publick faith given to the Protestants, to rage and storm, and furiously exclaim upon his breach of faith with themselves: when we see him brought to need and desire the assistance of the King of Navar and his Protestants, with whom he had broken faith, against those for whom, to comply with their perfidious and rebellious humours, he did it; and by them notwithstanding thus brought to his end and murthered, with whom he had so basely complied in that perfidious dealing; this we may likewise with great reason look upon as a just judgment of God upon him, for that his perfidious dealing with the Protestants. And certainly, if all the circumstances of the History from that barbarous Massacre of the Protestants at Merindol and Cabriers, under Francis 2. to the death of this his Grand-son Henr. 2. the last of his race, for almost 50 years, be duly confidered, it will be hard to find in any History a more eminent example of Divine Vengeance profecuting a Family to the utter extirpation of it, than this: an example wherein the judgment of God is more conspicuous and remarkable, or the causes of that judgment more manifest and apparent, wherein the fin and the punishment do more exactly agree; or of a more remarkable distinguishing providence, if with this, the hapy reign and actions of their neighbour Prince Queen Elizabeth be impartially compared. This was a judgment not upon one person alone, nor upon a Family, so as to involve all in one sudden destruction, as is sometimes seen; but a continued profecution of vengeance against a whole Family for three generations, without intermission: the Grand-father v. Sect. 391 (Fran. 1.) not long enjoying himself or his life after he had authorized that fatal perfecution ; His Son, Henr. 2. (having time to repent and reform, and admonished so to do by his dying Father, but persevering in his Fathers fin) cut off by a violent death in the height and heat of his perfecutions against the Protestants, and upon his consummation of an agree-

agreement for a War against them; His four Sons all living to be men, but not to half the age of men; three of them coming fuccessively to the Crown, but so as rather only to wear the Grown, than, by a just and peaceable exercise of their authority, to sway the Scepter, being at first over-ruled by the deceitful and pernicious counsels of their Mother and her Italians, and the violent courses of the Guisian Faction to destroy their subjects; and at last necessitated, by the bold attempts of the Guisians, and fury of the Leaguers, to fight for Crown, Liberty and Life against them; whereby they and their Kingdom were continually embroiled in Civil Wars, and miserable confusions: each of them succeeding other, as in their access to the Crown, so in their unhappy reign, (if they might be faid to reign, while so obnoxious to the wills of others, and continually imbroiled in such consusions) and exit and catastophre of it: the first (Francis 2.) cut off by a death remarkable, though not for the kind, yet for the time and season of it, both in respect of his years, and of those who were preserved by it; (V. Sect. 40. p. 63, 64.) the next (Charles 9.) living some years longer, and thereby more capable, by his own personal management, of the affairs of the Kingdom, to derive the guilt of his Ancestors miscarriages upon himself, and increase it by his own, which accordingly he did in no mean degree, being likewise cut off by a death every way remarkable, in respect both of the time and all other circumstances; and lastly the third Brother (Hen. 3.) coming likewise to that unhappy end, which hath been but now related; all of them, with their Brother Alancon, dying without iffue to succeed them. Nor did this fate attend only the fuccession, but light also upon those who were incapable to succeed in the Government.; their bastard Brother Angolesme, who had been a forward actor in the Massacre, being also, as hath been said, cut off by a violent death; and \* V. Sect. 39. of their Sifters, Elizabeth the eldest \* married to Phil. 2. of Spain, (a Marriage concluded, with an agreement between him and her Father, of a War against the Protestants, but solemnized with the otherwise untimely death of her Father), and by Philip her Husband first employed in the

p. 60.

\* Consultation at Bayonne, and at last brought to that + un- \* V. Sect. 42. happy end when great with child, and in the 23 th. year of p. 74. her age, which hath been mentioned before, and is more fully + V. Sect. 44. related in the late French History of Dom Carlos: and Margares the youngest, first forced by her Mother and Brother Charles to a Marriage with the King of Navar, (that unhappy Marriage which was made the introduction to the Maffacre), afterwards for her \* lewdness and incontinency re- \* V. Busbeg. proachfully turned from the Court by her next Brother Henr. ep. Aug. 27. 3. and at last divorced from her Husband when King of 1583. Da. p. France, without issue by him, unless she had any by any 599. Thu.l. 80. other which was kept secret, as her Brother objected to her. If their other Sister Claud married to Charles Duke of Lorain was less unhappy in this respect, she seems less to have merited the like misfortune, for we meet with no mention of her in all the story of these confusions in France. were five Kings in a continued succession cut off, besides three others of the same line, (the youngest son of Francis 1. in few months after the beginning of those persecutions, at his age of 23. and the second and youngest of Hen. 2.) who never came to the Crown, and their whole line and posterity extirpated in France, while they fought the extirpation of the Protestants there; whereby the Crown at last, notwithstanding all opposition and endeavours to hinder it, descended to a Protestant Prince; and all this by a constant course of Divine Vengeance upon that Family for about 44 years, for fo long it was from the execution of the Decree of the Parliament of Province, Apr. 1545. and the death of the King's youngest son Sept. 8. following, to the murder of Henr. 3. Aug. 1589. the very same space of time which Queen Elizabeth happily and prosperously reigned in England, and most of it contemporary. Wherein it is very plain and observable a triple difference between ber and them, viz. a different cause, or end and aim of their actions, a different manner of proceeding, and a different fuccess. As to the Cause; they defigned and endeavoured the suppression of the reformed ... Religion, and extirpation of the Professor of it in their territories.; she established and promoted it in her Dominions. As

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As to their manner of proceeding; they fought to attain their ends by fraud and violence, flaughters and inexecrable feverity, either without Law, or contrary to Law, or by executions exceeding in severity the very rigour of the Decrees, Laws or Edicts against the Protestants; and all for no other cause but their Religion; a Religion which teacheth nothing dishonourable to God or Christ, or injurious to man; which embraceth all that can reasonably be proved to have been taught by Christ or his Apostles; receiveth, honoureth, and commends to the diligent study of all the facred Scriptures; such a Religion, as they who perfecute it, confess to be true in what it affirms, and is the most effential part of their own, only believes not what they are not sufficiently convinced to be true, and with no little reason suspect to be falle, or not proposed to their belief by Divine authority. She did nothing without Law, or contrary to the Laws; was very moderate in making, and no less in executing any Laws against Papills: The first she made in the first and fift years of her Reign, being so far from introducing any new feverity, that they take off from the harshness of what was in force before; and those and the rest not being made against their Religion in general, but upon special and particular, necessary and urgent occasions, for the necessary afferting and preservation of her own just authority against those who endeavoured to set up a pretended foreign jurisdiction against her, to absolve her subjects from all duty and obligation of obedience to her, and excite them to rebellions, and to joyn with foreign enemies, or by affassination to destroy her; whereby she was necessitated and forced, through their continual wicked, feditious and rebellious practices, for the curbing and reftraining of them, to proceed, contrary to her own disposition, to more and more severities of Laws, which, though none of them made without just cause, and some special provocation, yet were executed with admirable moderation; the next, after those above mentioned, which was made in the thirteenth year of V. Camd. and her Reign, being occasioned by the Northern Rebellion, and the Pape's Bull, to absolve her subjects from their obedience; yet notwithstanding in six whole years after was not put in cxecu-

1577. p. 286.

execution against any one; though there were those apprehended who had offended against it; and in ten years after that rebellion were there but five executed, till the further provocations before mentioned in the 29th, and following Paragraphs necessitated the execution of the Laws then in force. and the enacting of some others in the 23,27,29, and 35 years of her Reign; and yet did not the leverity which was exercifed in all her Reign against Papists, equal what was done against the Protestants in two years of her Sisters Reign, and oftner than once, in few days in France, and professedly for

their Religion only, whereas it cannot be proved \* that throughout her whole. Reign there was any one executed meerly for their Religion. Such certainly was her lenity and moderation in this respect, considering the daily and high provocations against her, as plainly argues an admirable magnanimity and

\* Sir Fr. Bacon in his Observations upon the Libel, point 3. and Collection of the Queens Felicities, and the late Treatile of the Grounds, Reasons and Provocations necessitating the Sanguinary Laws, (Edit. Lond. 1664. quarto).

piety in her, and is scarce to be parallell'd in any History, not to be denied but by fuch as have cast off all ingenuity and sense of their own credit and reputation, and hath extorted the + confession, and provoked the free acknowledgment of + v. Watson. her more candid and ingenuous adverfaries. There might Widdrington, also be observed a great difference between the actions of the &c. apud Protestants in France, and the Papists both here and there The Jesuits too, but that, for brevity sake, shall be left to the Readers Reasons unown observation from what hath been related of each, reasonable, Therefore laftly, as to their fuccess, they, while by fraud and violence they fought the utter extirpation of the Reformed Religion, and Profesfors of it in France, were themselves extirpated there, and the last of their race cut off by his own Subjects of that same Religion, which by those wicked courses was fought to be established, and the Religion which they fought to suppress and extirpate, took deeper root, and flourished more, notwithstarding all their opposition and perfecutions: She, while, with rare moderation, and a generous plain-dealing constancy and resolution, established the Reformed Religion, both eafily and happily attained her end,

Foulis, 1.7. C. 2.

and was her felf established in her Throne, and in a long; happy, and prosperous Reign, as long as all theirs from the beginning of their perfecutions, preserved from all the secret plots, and machinations, and open rebellions, and affaults of her enemies, made victorious over all, and at last brought to her grave in peace, and in a good old age, leaving her Kingdoms in peace, and in a flourishing condition, and a bleffed and glorious memory behind her; while they were cut off in the flower or middle of their age, and left their Kingdom embroiled in Civil Wars, Confusion and Misery, and an infamous memory of their no less unsuccessul, than perfidious and barbarous actions.

Sect. 41. p.67.

\* P. 22.

4 Thu. 1. 33.

1561.

See before

¥ 1569. Thu. 1.45. 1572.

55. Nor was this distinguishing Providence thus visible only between her and those who persecuted the Reformed Religion, but also between her and those who deserted the same, as is to be seen in the next succeeding King of France, Henr. 4. (the greatest part of whose Reign was contemporary with her), and in his Father before him Antony King of Navar, who being drawn in by the Pope's Legate and Guises, in hopes to recover his Kingdom of Navar, or satisfaction for it, to defert the Protestants, and become Head of the Popish party, within the space of about one year after, ended his life by a that before Rouen. Had he lived longer, fays \* Perefix, the Hugonots had without doubt been ill dealt with in France. But having received his deaths wound, he became more + folicitous for his own falvation than for his Kingdom, for which he had thus wavered in his Religion, and at last declared, that if he recovered, he would openly embrace the Protestant Profession, and live and die in it. His son Henry 4. of France was bred up from his childhood in the Reformed Religion, and when he was grown up \* professed himself Head of that party, and so continued till his + unhappy Marriage with a Popish Lady, Margaret Sister to Charles 9. then King of France, which, though for its warrant it had the specious colour and pretence of confirming the Pacification, and begetting and establishing a better accord between the two parties by so near an alliance between the two Heads of them, yet proved, as it was intended by the others, a snare to the destruction of the chief

1576.

1589.

chief persons, and of great numbers of the rest of his own party; and to himself, not only unsuccessful in respect of his wife, and that not fo much through her sterility, as her inconstancy and unfaithfulness to his bed; but also a snare, whereby, after he had feen the lives of his best friends, and of great numbers of innocent people of his own Religion most barbaroufly and inhumanely taken away, he was himself forced, for the faving of his own life, to change his Religion, in thew and appearance at least. But this being by constraint, and Thu. 1. 96. only in appearance, (for Religion (as was well perceived by Henr. 3. after he had received his deaths wound) which is planted in mens minds by God, cannot be commanded or forced by men). Upon the first opportunity he returned again to the open profession of that Religion, which in the mean time he retained in his heart, and constantly professed and maintained the same till after the descent of the Crown of France to This happened very seasonable for him in many respects. being then not a child or youth unexperienced in the World, but of mature age (about 35.) and firm judgment, well experienced in affairs both Military and Civil, of State and Government; being then reconciled to, and in perfect amity with the deceased King, who, upon his death-bed, acknow-ledged him for his lawful Successor, recommended the Kingdom to him, and exhorted the Lords there present to acknowledg him for their lawful Sovereign, notwithstanding his Religion, and obey him accordingly; being then not in Bearn or the remoter parts of the Kingdom with small or no forces, but before the chief City of it in the head of a great Army under his command, many of those in the Army who disliked his Religion, yet being, by the confideration of his undoubted right, the recommendation of the deceased King, and their own fresh experience of his virtue fince his coming to the Army, reconciled to his person, acknowledging his sovereignty, and submitting to his obedience, now not as General, but as their lawful and undoubted Prince. This was 20 years after he had first professed himself Head of the Protestints. 13 years after he had again returned to the profession of that Religion wherein he had been bred and educated; when he

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had been all this while preserved, notwithstanding all the power of France against him, and had withstood all the tenrations which, after the death of Alancon, whereby he became next heir to the Crown of France, could invite him to change his Religion; and when, after all opposition, he was, as it were, led by the hand to the possession of the Kingdom. Yet was he not to entirely poffeffed of it, but that there was ftill matter and occasion left him to make him sensible of that Providence which, having preserved him all this while, had at last raised him to the Throne; and to exercise his dependance upon the same for the suture, for his entire possession of He was, like David, after many and long the Kingdom. trials, advanced to the Throne; but yet, like him, not prefently put into the full possession of the Kingdom. For the Leaguers, who thought his being an Heretick, as they reputed him, was a sufficient disability to his right to the Crown. thought the same a sufficient warrant for them to keep him from it, and to continue the rebellion against him which they had begun against his predecessor.

Thu. 1. 98. Foul. 8. c. 7.

And to remove or prevent all scruple of Conscience in that respect, the Colledge of Sorbon gave them their solemn resolution, (May 7. 15901) That they who opposed him should merit much before God and Men, and if they refisted (so mindful were they of the Apostles Doctrine, Rom. 13.) to the effusion of their bloud, should obtain a reward in Heaven, and an immarcestible or never-fading Crown of Mar-And, lest this should not be sufficient, they institute a Procession, which was made in the presence of the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Bellarmine, and all the Bishops who came with him from Italy, wherein Rose Bishop of Senlis, and the Prior of the Carthufians holding in one hand a Crofs, and in the other a Halberd, led the Van, the Fathers of the Capucins, Foliacens, Paulians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, following in order, all accoutred, their Cowles hanging back upon their shoulders, and having on instead of them. Head-pieces, and Coats of Male; and after them the younger Monks in the same habit, but armed with Muskets, which they frequently and inconfiderately fired at those they met, with a

that whereof one of Cardinal Cajetans domesticks was killed, who being flain at fo religious a shew, was therefore held to be received into the bleffed companies of the Confessors. After this was made another Procession by the Duke of Nemours, and Claud Brother to the Duke of Aumale, who commanded the Infantry, and the rest of the Officers of the Army, who upon the great Altar of the principal Church renewed their League and Covenant, and swore upon the Gospel to live and die for the cause of Religion, and to defend the City against Navar. The Pope also, that this Rebellion might want no authority which his infallibility could give it. though there was no other scruple to his right and title but only his Religion, fought against him with both swords; by his Monitory against the Prelates, &c. who submitted to his obedience by his Legate, Cardinals, and other Emissaries fent to encourage the Rebels, and by his forces and mony, whereof in about 10 months time he wasted 5000000 of aureos, most Thu. 1. 102. upon the French War, when there was more need of it to have relieved the poor, who in the mean time died of famine at home: and Clem. 8. who not long after succeeded in that Chair, said he was resolved in himself to spend all his trea. Thu. 1. 103. fures and bloud too, if there was need, to exclude Navar from his expected possession of the Kingdom. Nor was their good fon the Catholick King of Spain wanting to the promotion of so just a cause. And in bis own Army, though many, Thu. 1.97. otherwise of the Romish Religion, submitted to him without any conditions or delay, and others were satisfied with his word and promife, (which his former faithfulness had made of great authority even with his enemies, v. Perefix, p. 112.) that he would refer all matters of Religion to a Lawful, General or National Counci', and others with his Oath, yet many having more regard to their own private interest and concerns than to their duty, deserted him, and either stood neuter to fee which way the scales would turn, or turned to the Leaguers. Nevertheless, not only of the Nobility, Gentry and Laity, but also of the Clergy, Prelates, Arch Bilhops, Bishops and others, many were more sensible of their duty than either to be drawn with fuch false, though specious pre-

Thu. 1. 101.

tences, or to be affrighted with the terrors of the Pope's pretended authority from it. And therefore when the Pope's Mandates were read in the Parliament which fat at Tours, they made an Act of Parliament whereby the Monitorials made at Rome, Mar. 1. were declared Nul, Abufive, Seditions, to be damned, full of impieties and importures, contrary to the facred Decrees Rights Immunities, and liberties of the Gallican Church. and it was decreed that the Copies of them fealed with the feal of Marsil, Landiranus, and signed by Sextil, Lampinetus, should be by the common Hangman publickly torne, and burnt before the Palace Gates, &c. that Landiranus, who, pretending himself the Popes Legate, brought those Mandates should be apprehended, & c. and Gregory calling himself Pope the 14th. of that name, was declared an enemy of the publick Peace, of the Union of the Catholick Church, and of the King and Kingdom, a partaker of the Spanish Conspiracy, a Favourer of Rebels, and guilty of the cruel, detestable and inbumane parricide treacherously committed upon the most Christian and truly Catholick King Henr. 3. And this was required to be published by the Arch-Bishops and Bishops through their Diocesses. The like was also done at Chaulem and Caen. The next day after this was an Edict made in favour of the Protestants, with the general consent of all as necessary, published, whereby the Edict of July was revoked, and the former Edicts in favour of the Protestants re-And very fair they were to have created a Patriarch of their own in France, which the Senate urged, but was opposed by the new Cardinal of Bourbon, a man of no worth, who was out of hope of being the man himself, and was a promoter of a new faction of the Thirdlings among the King's party, yet in those things which concerned the Collation of Benefices, they gave that power to the Arch-Bishop which the Pope had usurped or pretended. The King in a speech to a great Assembly of the Nobility and Officers of his Army, upon the death of the former King, had told them, that of those things which, as they knew, his Predecessor had at his death recommended to him, this was the chief, That be should maintain his Subjects of the Roman Catholick, and of the Reformed Religion in equal liberty, (æquabili in libertate)

Thu. 1. 97.

till by the authority of a lawful Occumenical or National Council Something should be decreed concerning that difference, which be would religiously observe: and professed before them all, that be had rather that day should be his last, than to do any thing whereby he might be faid to waver in his Faith, or to have renounced that Religion which hitberto he had professed, before he should be further instructed by a lawful Council, to whose authority be did submit bimself: and therefore he gave free leave to those who were not fatisfied with this to depart, adding; and when they have for saken me, yet God will never for sake me, who, I call your selves to witness, from my childhood hath as it were led me by the hand, and beaped upon me great and unconceivable Nor did the beneficence of God toward David appear greater, or more miraculous, than when beyond the expectation of all, through so many difficulties and dangers be brought me to the Throne; lo that I ought not in the least to doubt, but he who breaking through so many obstacles buth called me to the Kingdom, will preserve me in it, and defend me against all the assaults of my enemies, &c. I value not the Kingdom of France, no, nor the Empire of the whole World fo much, that for the obtaining of them I would make any defection from that Religion, which as true I have from my tender years imbibed with my Mothers milk, and embrace any other faith than what, as I have faid before should be resolved in a lawful Council. The like confidence in God, Da. p. 900. with refignation to his will, he afterwards expressed in a pi- Perefix, p. 147. ous Prayer in the head of his Army before the Battel of Tury, Thu. L 98. after which he obtained a very notable Victory over a much greater Army. Yet notwithstanding, after all this, whether through the importunity of the Roman Catholicks of his own party, or the violence of his enemies, who were affembled to elect a Catholick King, which was much urged by the Pope and the King of Spain, he fell off from his constancy, Thu. 1. 106, and without the determination or instruction of any lawful General or National Council, changed his Religion, and at last also submitted bimself to the Pope. The report of this being brought to Queen Elizabeth, who had been very liberal in her affistance to him upon the score of Religion, and was very so- Camden and licitous for him, the presently dispatched Th. Wilkes to know 1593.

the truth of it, and if not already done, earnestly with reasons which the fent in writing to diffwade him from it. To whom the King excused himself from the necessity of his condition; which he also did by Morlantius to the Queen her felf, with great offers of amity and kindness, calling her his Sifter, (as is usual), whereat, being much grieved and troubled, the prefently took her pen, and wrote the ensuing Letter, in what Language I know not, but thus in English out of the Latine in Camden.

Alar, how great grief, what a floud of forrow, what fighs did I feel in my mind from those things which Morlantius bath told me? O the faith of men! is this the World? Could it be that any earthly thing could drive the fear of God from you? Can me expect an happy iffue of this deed? Or can you think that be. who with his right hand had hitherto sustained and preserved you, was now about to leave you? It is a thing very dangerous to do evil that good may come of it. Yet the good Spirit, as I hope. will inspire a better mind into you. In the mean time I will not cease, in the first place of my Prayers, to commend you to the Divine Majesty, and to beseech bim that the hands of Esan may not spoil the bleffing of Facob. That you solemnly offer me your \* This hath re- Amity, I know that I have indeed well deserved it; nor truly would it repent me, bad you not changed your \* Father. Certainly now can I not from thence be your Sister by the Father. Homever, I (for my part) will always more dearly love my own, than ges wherein he our adscititions Father; which God best knows, whom I beseech reduce you to the right path of a more found judgment.

spect to his submission to the Pope, and to some passacalled her Sifter, or himself her Brother.

Your Sister if it may be after the old mode,

With the new will I have nothing to do.

## ELIZABETHA R.

56. Thus this good Queen: but the King who had before loofened the ties of Confeience for the faving of his life, and began now to break through the same for the satisfaction of his

his loft, and the enjoyment of a + woman; it is no wonder if he did the same for the enjoyment of a Kingdom, which per- † Gabrielle haps he might have better secured otherwise, and his life with Perefix, p. 194. it. It is true, he never went fo far as to perfecute the Protestants, as his Predecessors in the Kingdom of France did, and his Father began to do, and perhaps had proceeded further, had he elcaped that fatal wound; but while he took liberty to himself to change that profession, gave them the liberty to retain and enjoy it, and under better conditions than ever they enjoyed, or were granted them before, which was a principal cause which made his Reign so much more prosperous and happy than theirs. Yet, as in those two particulars, for his luft, and for his Kingdom, he did forfake his Conscience and Religion, so did God at last, after several fair warnings, forfake and leave him to the \* ruine of his health, by the fa- \* v. Perefix. tisfaction of his lufts, the disappointment of his counsels, by p. 400, 461, the treachery of the Jesuits, and the loss of his life by the 462. hand of a zealot of that Religion which he had chosen; whereas this bleffed Queen who gave him this pious admonition, and her felf continued taithful to her God, and conflant in her pious resolutions to the last, was to the last bleffed and preserved, notwithstanding all the Plots and Conspiracies, Rebellions and Invasions, and attempts of her enemies the Romanists against her. By this act of his he broke indeed the faction of the Leaguers, and so more easily quieted his possession of the Kingdom, yet had he soon an occasion to immind him how uncertain and thort his enjoyment of it was like to be, unless still preserved in the midst of Peace by the same Providence by which he had been hitherto preserved in his Wars, and advanced to it through so many dangers and difficulties. For within a month after his conversion to the Thu. 1. 107. Romish profession, was apprehended an assasin, Peter Barrier, who from place to place had followed him to kill him. fellow had confered about it with a Carmelite and a Capuchin, who both encouraged him to it, and when he made forme feruple by reason the King was turned Catholick, as he said, he was confirmed in it by Chr. Aubre Curate of St. Andrea, who for his further confirmation led him to Varade Rector of

the Jesuites Colledge, who eased him of all scruples, and further animated him to perform the undertaking, and when he had been confessed, and received the Sacrament in their Colledge, dismissed him to that purpose. Having provided him a knife for the purpole, it was not long before he had an opportunity to have done it, but was strangely restrained, being pulled back as it were with cords tied about his heart, as he afterward confessed. The like opportunities he often had at other places whither he followed the King for that purpole, but was by some little accident or other still prevented, or had not the power to do it, though otherwise a fearless man. At last being discovered and apprehended, and brought to his trial, he confidently confessed the whole matter, railing upon the Sectaries and his Judges. Before his execution, he was ordered to be racked to make him confess his complices; but in the mean time it was thought fit to send some to him to admonish him of his error, whereof he was so throughly convinced by Oliver Barengarius, a Dominican, who had all along been of the King's party, that acknowledging his error, he reckoned himself happy that he was prevented from committing so great a wickedness as he intended, though by his own most miserable death, detesting his purpose, and those who had perswaded him to it, and told him that if he died in the enterprize, his foul should immediately be received by Angels into Heaven, there to enjoy an eternal happiness with God, and admonished him, that if be should bappen to be taken and tortured, he should not name any of them who had perswaded bim to it, for then be must know, be should incur the pains of eternal damnation: and before his execution he gave notice of two Priests, who at Lions had undertaken to kill the King, and, for the greater caution, described their persons. This renewed the odium of the Jesuits, who were reputed not only to have been the \* first inventers of this mischievous War, but also, what by their profane Sermons, what by the poison of their naughty Doctrine secretly in confession instilled into the minds of the inraged people, to have expofed, by a pernitious example, the facred persons of Princes to be murdered by every one. The next danger of this kind which

\*So Dav. in the S ory of Chaftel, calls them the first authors and continual fomentors of the League, p. 1232.

which he was in came yet a little nearer to him, when in the Thu. 1. 111. Chamber of his + beloved Mistress, happily at the instant, + Perefix, p. Rooping to salute a Gentleman that came in, he received that 229. stroke only at his mouth, and without greater hurt than the loss of a tooth, which was designed at his heart by John Cha-Gel a Scholar of the Feluites, who, through a flagitious life grown desperate, hoped by so heroick an act for the cause of the Roman Catholick Religion, to merit, though not Salvation, whereof he despaired, yet some mitigation of his punishment, perhaps from the eighth degree to the fourth. educated and studied in the Jesuites School, and was affistant in Philosophy to John Guerret a Priest of that Society; and though vitious above his age, yet was in effect with those Fathers, who used to admit him among their choice disciples, to their more fecret conferences and religious exercises; and had often heard in that Society, that it was not only lawful to kill the King, but a thing much conducing to the cause of Religion, whereof it feems he was fo throughly perswaded, that notwithstanding the terribleness of his execution, he expressed no signs of sorrow or repentance; but on the contrary, being first put to the rack, gave out such affertions as the Court declared seditious, contrary to the word of God, and condemned by the facred Decrees, and made it treason to repeat them. As he had before freely confessed, so when he Da. p. 1332. was tortured he confirmed the same, that he was bred up in the Schools of the Jesuites, and had often heard it discoursed, and disputed, that it was not only lawful, but also meritorious, to kill Henry of Bourbon (the King) a relapfed Heretick, and often faid that he learned that Doctrine from them. Whereupon their Colledge being fearched, among the papers of F. Fohn Guignard were found many writings that taught that Doctrine, many things against the late King, and that praised the murder of him; and likewise against the present King, that perswaded the killing of him, and tending to sedition and parricide: that it would be well done to thrust Navar, though professing the Catholick Religion, into a Monastery, there to do penance: if without war he cannot be deposed, war is to be made against bim; if war cannot be made, be must by any means

means be taken out of the way, & c. all which he was convicted to have written with his own hand, and was therefore hanged. Also John Gueres the ordinary Confessor of Chastel, F. Alexander Haye, and John Bell, all of the same Society were likewise convicted of the like offences, but were condemned only to perpetual banishment and confiscation of their goods.

Thu. L 37.

57. The Society of the Jefuiter, to whom the Bishop of Clermont gave his house in Paris called Clermont house, from whence they were ealled the Society of Clermont by those who difliked their ambitious, arrogant appropriating to themselves the Title of Jesuites, as that which doth belong to all true Christians, was by the recommendation of Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, (the Guisians alwaies highly fayouring this new Society), first admitted in France in the year 1550, by Henr. 2. of whom was obtained a Charter for them to build and erect a School at Paris, but there only, and not in other But when this Charter and the Pope's Bull of confirmation of their inflitution were brought into the Court to be allowed, and were read, the Parliament referred them both to the confideration of the Bishop of Paris, and of the College of Divines. Whereupon they gave their Sentence in writing. to this effect; That this new Society, by an infolent Title appropriating to themselves the name of Jesus, and so licenticulty admissing any persons, howforver illegisimate, facinorous and infamous, without any respect, and which nothing differs from other secular persons in Rites, Ceremonies, or rule of living, whereby the Orders of Monks are distinguished; moreover, is endowed with so many Priviledges, Liberries and Immunities, especially in the Administration of the Sacraments, to the prejudice of the Prelates, and of the Sacred Order, and also even of the Princes and Lords, and to the great grievance of the people, contrary to the Priviledges of the University of Paris; feems to violate the honourableness of the Monastick Order, to enerwate the studious, pious, and necessary exercise of Virtue. Abstimence, Ceremonies and Authority; and also to give occasion to others to farfake their Vows to withdraw their due Obedience from

the Prelates, unjustly deprive the Lords, both Eeclesiastical and others of their rightsito introduce great disturbance in the Civil & Ecclesiastical Government, Quarrels, Suits, Diffentions, Contentions, Emulations, Rebellions, and various Scissures; that for thefe eauses, this Society seems very dangerous in respect of Religion, as that which is like to diffurb the Peace of the Church, to enervate the Monastick Discipline, and to send more to Destruction than to Edification. This so startled the Society, that they defisted from any further profecution till the Reign of Francis 2. When the Guiffans, who highly favoured this new Society. carrying all before them, they refumed the business again, and first the Bishop of Paris, Eust. Bellaius, was required to give bis Sentence, which he did in writing; That that Society, as all new Orders, was very dangerous, and at these times instituted rather to fir up Commotions, than to make up the Peace of the Church: and after a sharp censure of their arrogant title, adding, that in the priviledges granted to it by Paul 3. are many things repugnant to the Common Law, and prejudicial to the pomer and authority of the Bishops, Curates, and Universities, and therefore it would be more advisable, that since they are by the Pope appointed and bound to instruct the Turks and Insidels, and publish the Gospel among them, yet in places which are near to them sbey should have their Colledges assigned, as beretofore the Knights of Rhodes had in the borders and out-skirts of the Christians. This and the other fentence being read, and confidered by the King in Counsel, the Court notwithstanding, through the infligation of the Cardinal of Lorrain, was commanded to publish as well the Pope's as the King's Charter, without any regard to the intercession of the Bishop and Colledge of Divines; and the Jesuites exhibited a supplication to the Court, whereby they subjected themselves to the Common Law, and renounced all priviledges contrary to it. But the Parliament thought fit rather to remit the whole business to a General Council, or to a Convention of the Gallicane Church. And at a great meeting of the Bishops at the Conference at Poily, they were admitted to teach, but under many conditions to change their name, be subject to the Bishop of the Diocels

Diocess, & to do nothing to the prejudice of the Bishops, Colledges, Curates, Universities or other Orders, or their Jurifdiction and Function, but be governed according to the prescript of the Common Law, and renounce all contrary priviledges, &c. Hereupon was opened Clermont School at Paris. But when this liberty was interrupted by the whole University of Paris, the business was again brought before the The University having before advised with Carolus Molinaus, bis Confultation or opinion and refolution of the Case, which was afterwards published, was, that the University had good cause to declare against them for a Nufance, because they had erected a new Colledge contrary to the ancient decrees of Synods, the General Council under Innocent 3. the Decrees of the Court, &c. their Inflitution was not only to the detriment of the feveral Orders, but to the danger of the whole Kingdom, and every wife man might justly fear that they might prove spies, and betray the fecrets of the Kingdom; they feemed to be instituted to lie in wait for the estates of dying people; they set up a new School in a University, to which they would not obey, which was not only monstrous, but a kind of sedition, &c. And it was argued on both fides in full Parliament, by Pet. Verforius for the Society, highly commending their Original and Institution, and by Steph. Pa/cafins for the University, as much condemning both their Institution and their Practice: 'their Institution, in respect of their obligation by vow both to their General, who is always chosen by the King of Spain, and whom they profess to respect as God present upon earth, and promise a blind Obedience, as they call it, to him, absolutely in all things; and to the Pope, to whom, because they are so obsequious, they ought so much the more to be suspe-" Cted by the French, who indeed acknowledge the Pope as Head and Prince of the Church, but so as that he is bound 'to obey the facred Decrees and Occumenical Councils as inferior to them; that he can decree nothing against the 'Kingdom, or their Kings, or contrary to the Decrees of the 'Court (of Parliament), or in prejudice of the Bishops with-'in their limits; and therefore to admit those new Sectaries, ' would

would be to nourish so many enemies within the bowels of the Kingdom, who, if it should happen that the Popes in a fury should raise arms against us, would denounce war 'against the King and Nation of France: also in respect of their unreasonable and exerbitant priviledges contrary to the Common Law; and of their ambitious Title: their Pra-· dice, for corrupting of youth, and ruining of Families; and laftly, addresting himself more especially to the Senators, he admonished them to beware that they did not, when too late, condemn their own credulity, when they should see through their connivance, that the publick tranquility not only in this Kingdom, but through the Christian World, ' should be endangered by the craft, guiles, superstition, diffimulation, impostures and evil arts of these men. But the Senate, whether through fecurity, or hatred of the Protestants, whom these men were believed born to subdue, determined to deliberate further on the business, in the mean time granting them liberty, publickly to open their Schools and in- 5 Apr. 1565. ftruct the youth. And here we may take notice by the way, who were the first and chief favourers and introducers of the Tesuites, and thence further observe whose Scholars they were, who were the chief actors in those troubles in France. But thus hung the cause till, after the discovery of Barrieres Apr. 1594.
Thu. 1. 110. conspiracy, the University with unanimous consent nemine reclamante renewed their Suit, and prayed Judgment, by their Supplication to the Parliament, wherein they fet out, that the Estates in the Senate had long fince complained of this new Sect, that great confusions were then raised by them in the discipline of the Schools; that from that time they have given occasion of greater troubles, since the faclious did openly addict them felves to the Spaniards party. and have confounded not only the City but the whole Kingdom with horrid feditions; that this was prudently foreseen from the beginning by the Colledge of Divines. who by their Decree declared this new feet to have been introduced to the definiction of lall Discipline as well Civil as Ecclefiaffical, and namely denying the obedience of the "Univerfity, as well to the Rector of it, as moreover to the

Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Curates and others the Prelates of the Church; that notwithflanding those Jesuites made supplication to the Senate to be incorporated into the Univerfity, and the cause being heard the Senate suspended the the Suit, Salvo partisem jure, so that nothing in the interim should be innovated in the cause in prejudice of the Decree; that yet the Jesuites have not only not at all obeyed the Decree of the Court, but forgetting their facerdotal profestion have thrust themselves into publick businesses, carried themselves as spies for the Spaniards, and managed their concerns: and therefore pray, that fince all thefe things are openly and publickly known, the Senate will interpole their authority, and by their Decree command that Sect to depart not only from the University of Paris, but out of the Kingdom, and exterminate them thence. Hereupon, after various delays by the Jesuites, the cause came again to an bearing in the Parliament, not openly, but at the instance, and through the importunity of the Jesuites and their friends, the dores being thut. And Ant. Arnald of Counsel for the University, deploring the condition of France heretofore formidable, but of late become despicable to all through sactions, which factions have been caused by the Jesuites, largely confirmed from experience of what had fince been acted, the truth of what was wifely forefeen and foretold fo many years before. 'That the Emperor Charles 5. when, fortune favouring him, he conceived hopes of obtaining and transferring to his Family a universal Monarchy, and by his own ' fagacity and long experience found that many were tied up by scruples of conscience; could not devise a more effectual means to work upon them, than by introducing men of the Spanish defign (the Jesuites) to the destruction of others under shew of Religion, who in secret at confessions, and openly also when occasion should be offered in their Sermons. 'alienating the credulous and simple people from the obedience of their lawful Governors, should insensibly draw them to his party. That the principal Vow of these men is, to be absolutely and in all things obedient to the General of beir Order, who for the most part is a Spaniard, or subject

of Spain, as appears from the feries of those who for these 50 years from the beginning of their Society, have been their Generals; for fuch were, 1. Ignatius Loiola their founder, 2. Jac. Lain, 3. Enaristus, 4. Fr. Borgia, and, 5. at present Cl. Aquanina: that to their von their horrible words are annexed, in which they profess to acknowledge Christ as present in their General; that their Sect, whereas in Italy and France at the beginning it was generally opposed, was with great applause approved in Spain; they pray day and 'night for the fafety and prosperity of the pious, prudent, vigilant Catholick King of Spain, who opposeth himself a sa wall of defence for the house of God & the Catholick Faith ; but for the most Christian King of France never; and let the F. General fay the word that the King of France should be killed, the command of the Spaniard must ex voti pecessitate be obeyed. That though upon their petition at 'Rome for the Popes Confirmation an. 1539 they were at first opposed, yet at last obtained it, this family now being added to it, that they should be ready to obey the Pope at a beck, which is that which doth so much ingratiate them at Rome, but ought to make them fo much the more suspe-" Gred in France. And that their Counsels tend to the Subverfrom of the Kingdom is hence manifest, that when ever the Popes exceeding their authority, have fent out their centures egainst the Kingdom of France, there have not been wanting pions men, who with the common suffrage of the Gallican Church, have couragiously opposed such their rash attempts, (as he thews more at large from divers inflances in the times of Carolus Calvus, Ludovicus Pius, Philippus Pulcher, Ca-'rolus vi, and Ludovicus xii.) but now in these late tumults it hath fallen out quite contrary, the facred Order being corrupted with the venom of this feet, and taught, that be who is once chasen Pope, although of the Spanish Nation or Fa-Sion, and a from enemy to the French, may notwithfranding give up the whole Kingdom for a prey, and abfalve the French from their Faith and Obedience which they ome to their Prince. That this is a schifmatical and detestable opinion, altogether 'sontrary to the word of God, (who hath divided the spiritual ? V. supra sect.

V. fect. 53.

41. p. 66.

ritual power from the secular as far as Heaven is from the Earth) and as much repugnant to the fafety and confervation of Kingdoms, as it is certain that the true Christian Religion is necessary thereunto. That these monsters have kindled these furies in the minds of the French, and excited fo many flaughters and horrid confusions every where. Hence that publick affertion of Tanquerellus 33 years fince. that the Popes may declare the King's Subjects free from their Oath of Fidelity. Hence that resolution 5 years fince, by the greater number of the Colledge of Sorbon, that is, those who were new moulded in the shop of the Jesuites, that Subjects may be absolved from their Obedience to their Prince. 'That this Vow inflituted by the Castilians (of Spain), which with fo firait a tye binds mens consciences to the perpetrating of any kind of enterprize, and to the killing of Kings themselves by suborned emissaries, hath dissolved and wholly abolished the glorious institutes of our Ancestors, the Laws of the Realm, and the liberties of the Gallican Church: whereas we have received this Law from our Ancestors. that the Oath of Fidelity, whereby the Subjects of France are obliged to their Kings, can by no censures of the Popes be diffolved; which is so conjoyned with the safety and weal of the Kingdom, that without certain ruine it cannot be severed from it: that the Royal Power in that suffers no rival, nor admits any equal Jurisdiction. That these emisfaries and affertors of this excessive power in the Pope crept in infenfibly at first in small numbers into France, but in fhort time filled the whole Kingdom, and with secret frauds sand seditious Sermons have stirred up the wars. first Conspiracies, more pernitious than the Bacchanals and that of Cataline, were hatched in their Colledge at Paris; that the Spanish Agents did often secretly convene there; that there the Nobility at their secret Confessions were enjoyned for the expiation (or fatisfaction) of their fins, to engage for the League, (viz. by a special commutation of penance into an heroick act of virtue) and those who refused were denied the benefit of absolution. That by them was the fedition at Vesuna stirred up, and the rebellions at

'Agen,

Agen, Tholonic, &c. and the Spanish Souldiers brought into Paris; that by their counsel the Coincil of avi emboldned by the forein Forces, offered the Kingdom of France to the King of Spain, and 13 daies after enfued that deteffable butchery of the principal Senators. That at their Schools at Lions and afterward at Paris was made the late Confpiracy for the murder of the King, as is atteffed by the confessions of Barriere; for among whem they are held for real Martyrs, who lay out their fives for the killing of Kings. Hence F. Commoter the last Christmas, taking for his text out of the book of Judges the example of Ehud, who slew the King of Moab, and fled away, cried out. We have need of another Ehud, whether Monk, or Souldier, or Lacquey, or Shepherd it matters not. Hence the furious speeches of Bernard and Commoter, calling the King Olofernes, Moab, Nero, Herod, and every where bawling in their Sermons that the Kingdom may be transferred by Election, &c. That among these counterfeit Priests it is a symbol of their profession, One God, one Pope, and one King of the Christian World; meaning the Catholick King, to whom they defign the universal Monarchy of the whole World, stirring up every where wars and rebellions, that thereby the vaft body of that Empire may grow up and devour the leffer Princes: That by them, Philip King of Spain, when he had long gaped after the Kingdom of Portugal, and forefaw that for long as the King and Nobility continued in safety, he could not obtain his desires, perswaded the young King Schaftian, having removed his intimate and faithful friends from him, to fail into Affrica, and rathly engage in fight upon great disadvantage, contrary to the opinion of all his party; wherein himself and almost all the flower of the Portugal Nobility perished. Nor did they cease till they had also ruined Don Antonio, and till the King of Spain \* not fo much by his Arms, as by their \* V. Harlz-Arts, had made himself Master of the Kingdom. Nor um apud ought it to impose upon the credulous, that they are vulgar- Thu. 1. 132. ly reputed serviceable for the + instruction of youth, whose rion apud

manners they rather corrupt, instilling evil principles into Thu. 1. 119. their .

their tender minds which in that lage make the greater iteprefion upon them, and under a thew of Piety teach them to embrue their hands in their Puinces bloud, to be disobedient to Magistrares, to stir up seditions among the people. to cast off all affection to their own Country, and be affe-Ged with an adulterous love to foreigners; and being thus scaloned with pennitious errors, they will in time, when grown up, bring the same into the Church and State. And indeed already, fince this new feet hath as it were feized upon the youth, the manners of our Ancellors have, not by degrees infentibly degenerated, but like a torrent been precipitated into corruption. Nor have whole Families escaped raine by them, by their arts youths being enveigled from their Parents, and the inheritances and effates of their Anceftors transferred to these new Lords. The complaints and examples of divers Noble Families thus spoiled are known, as of Petrus Erodius, Mombrunius, Godranus, Bollonius, Largilactonius, the Merques Canilliacus, whose Brother was not admitted to his vow in that Society, till they were certain of his succession to his elder Bruthers Estate. And for this purpose they have now their Book of Life, as they call it, wherein they describe the secrets of Families, which they learn from confessions. These things and much more having largely discoursed, in conclusion he urges the necessity of a speedy remedy, and therefore prays that according to the supplication, the Jesuites may be decreed to depart the Kingdom within 15 days after denunciation to the several Schools. Some days after was Ludwieus Dolous heard for the Curates (or Ministers) who also became Plaintiffs in the Suit, who among many other things urged, 'That by the Popes were many things inconfidencely and blindly granted them : by Paul, 3. Power to make new Statutes, and to change those which their Founder had established; also to absolve hereticks, which, if the Pope contend, is more than the whole Gallican Church can do. By Paul, 4. To 'absolve penitents from all kind of crimes, even those which 'are not comprehended in Bulla Cana Dominica, and from those also which the holy See hath reserved to it self, and

Id. Jul. 1594.

pre sempere to commute vows and pilgrimages, &c.by Jul.2.to give indulgence from fasts and prohibited meats. Lastly by Greg. 13. to converse with sectories, and for that purpose to wear fecular habits, (viz. for a difguife) a thing prohibised by the & Canons; and to correct all kind of Books, and to to mend the writings of the Fathers, wherein what Plagiatics they have been, is known to them who converse with Books; that from thence have great confusions been brought into the Church, and the Discipline generally been diffolved; for by the Breve of Paul 3. the people are allowed to leave their own Pattors, and run after them, and to resaive the Sacraments from them; to whom Greg. hath committed (authority) to animadvert as well upon the Clergy as the people, that all may be done rightly, and after the Roman mode; so that from Priests, whether regular or secular it is uncertain, they are fuddenly become univerfal Paflors of the people, or rather wandering vagabond Bishops, (Renindentine & direnmeelliones & bamaxarius Epifeopos ) that there is nothing which they cannot now do at Rome, where they are called the Papes eyes; mentis Pontificiæ oculi); that sheir Primiples are inconfiftent with the French: that it is certain that to them is principally given in charge that they should oppress the Gallican liberty, at first by guile, and afterwards with open force, even as in thefe laft wars they have endeavoured to do; that with them they are reckoned anathema who take the Kings part, but that the French think the contrary, and that not to obey the King is as to refift God, and to fight against Heaven: that they think that the Pope may excommunicate Kings and People when he pleafeth; but the French on the contrary hold them for Sectaries who think that the Pope may interpose his authority in any difference of State: that they attribute to the Pope an infinite power over all Kingdoms, and fet him above the Church, above Councils, and in fine, make his power coual to his will, (to do what he please); but the French hold his power to be finite, or limited. And for their good deeds and practices, that Claud Matthew, a ring-leader of the faction; whom Henr. 3. had familiarly used in his private vate devotions, and who therefore was well acquainfell with his piety (and devotion to the Rom Cath. Religion) with great impiety and ingratitude went to Rome, and would have perswaded Greg. 12. to have excommunicated him. unless he would comply with the leaders of that pernitions faction, which being denied by him, was after his death obtained of his successor Sixtus that Marada of the fame fociety confirmed Barriere in his purpose to kill the King. when he made some scruple at it; that they confess as much but with frivolous cavillation feek to excuse it. Nor are thefe the faults of fingle persons among them, forasmuch as it is a usual thing for constant customy with them, when they have any enterprize in hand, to confer together about it, &c. that by their occult art of prying into feerets they have by little and little infinuated themselves into the minds of the simple, and acquired a dominion in their consciences. Whereof there is a fresh example in the five (Popilly) Cantons of the Switzers, whom when the Johntes tind in vain attempted to draw them from their League with the other Cantons of the Protestants, made for their common safety. they, leaving the men, like the ferpent which deceived our first Parents, let upon the women, and perswaded them not to lye with their Husbands till they had broken off the League. But the Switzens discovering the fraud, showed themselves men, and handled the Conspirators according to their desert. The Venetions likewise, whose Justice and Prudence the duration of their State doth eafily evince, faw as much, and being warped by our example, they did not indeed thrult them out of their Territories, for how could they do that, being so near neighbours to the Pope? but did maturely that them up within their own inclosures, and interdicted them the hearing of confessions. And how powerful they are among us by these means, they openly profess, and glory in it in their letters to their General. But thus is the discipline (of the Church) overthrown, and (contrary to the prudent prohibition of the Council of Nants. the faying of St. Aug. Neminem digne panisere poffe, them non Sestineat unitas Ecclesia; the judgement of the ancient Christians,

Yet they fince did it, an. 1607. v.l.137.

them ....

Christians, who condemned Audius for making Separation in the Church) the people feduced from their own Paffors are adulteroufly affured to communion in facris with them spart from others, and at laft ftirred up to rebellion against their Prince, and emissavies suborned to murder him. Their conformies are well known against Prince Maurice, which sat laft took effect; and in England thole of Parry Cullen. York, Wikiams, in Scotland thofe of James Gordon and Edmond Hay's and with us that to often mentioned of Barriere But among the ancient Christians thele monsters were unheard of Of the Christians was no Castins no Niger, no Albinus, as Terrullian Ipeaks. Nor was that crime ever heard of in France till the coming in of the Jefuites. For it was brought in by them from Spain, whence they had their original, where the Gothes, as an ancient Author informs us took up this deteliable cultom, that if any of V. L. 134. their Kings pleased them not, they but him to the fword. and fee up whom they pleafed in his place. On behalf of the Teluites Cl. Dureus rather pleaded in bar of the action. than fpoke to the merits of the cause; but P. Barnius answered more copiously in writing. But, as much of what was spoken by the others is there purposely omitted for brewith felies for those things particularly which I find in wortd by him wadepethat of Fortugal, which not withit anding his answer, seems very probable, as well agreeing with their principles and actions, thought such mysterious practices are nor eafy to be fully proved. And thus flood the cafe with the Jefuites in France, when the King was about to proclaim \* Which was war against their great Patron the King of Spain : and whe done 17. Jan. ther the particular confideration of thele or either of thele. to prevent what they feared might be the confequence of them + did produce that attempt of their Scholar Chaffel, or + V. Perefix, not; for he was more deeply scasoned with their principles 229. and infiructions than to make a full confession, vet certain it is that that attempt did produce a more freedy determination of the cause than could otherwise have been expected, by a Decree whereby the Court did ordain that the Priests and 29 Dec. 1494. Students of the College of Chemons (for they would not call Thu. I. III.

miguodi.

them by the name of Jesuites) and all others of that Speley, as corrupters of Tauth, persurbers of the publich Tranquillien, and enemies of the King and Kingdom, Shall within three days after demonsiation depart from Paris and all other Cities where they have opened School, and within fifteen days after out of the am, upon pain to be profesured as guilty of Treason i and shas their Goods and Lands shall be imployed for pious afer; and be distributed at the pleasure of the Court; and all the Kings Subjects were interdicted to fend their children to the Schools of that Society out of the Kingdom to be infruited in Learning, spon pain of Treason. This was executed the Summer following. Some few days after this, was made another Decree, whereby Chaftel's Father's house, which was neer to the Palace, was ordered to be pulled down, and a Pyramid to be crecked in the place of it, with the Decree inscribed upon it ad eternam facti memoriam; which was likewife done, with other inscriptions in deteffation of the crime and with

V. 1.134.

Li. 112.

58. How necessary for the fastry both of the King and Kingdom this was, and that the Decree should be strictly executed throughout the whole Kingdom, and duly and constantly observed for the future, many in the Court, and most in the Parliament of Paris, and of the Cleagy, were very sensible, and the King could not be ignorant, especially after fuch fair warnings. And yet, whereas she Jefuises, being by virtue of this Decree exterminated out of the Jurisdictions of the Court of Paris, which extends to near half the Kingdom, and likewise of Burgundy and Normandy, continued notwithstanding for three years after to keep up their Schools in the Territories of Tholouse and Bourdeaux, to which many fent their Sons to be taught, and many again from that Society, changing their habits as if they had also renounced their vow, crept into other Schools; though the King was often importuned to command those Courts by his Edict to publish the Decree, and it was once or twice to refolved in Council, the execution notwithstending was continually retarded by the craft and fubtilty (faith our Author) of some about the King, but perhaps some thoughts of a peace with Spain, which had been propoled, might make it thought

Thu. I. 120.

thought unfeatonable at that time. But the Parliament of Paris was not wanting to do what in them lay, and by another 21 Aug. 1597. Derree, ander a fevete penalty prohibited all Cities, Colledges and Universities to admit any of that fociety, though pretending the renunciation of their vow, to preach, or to exercife any facerdotal Ministery, or to teach children either publickly or privately. The year following the King was Thu. 1. 120. again provoked through the obstinacy and infolency of the Court of Tholoufe, to fend out his Edict commanding those Courts to publish the Decree, and was moved by the Chancellor Ph. Huraltus Cevernius fo to do, but by fome Courtiers, fays our Author, the bufinels was at present delayed; and at last wholly put off; and very likely was now also though unfeasonable in respect of the King's desire to obtain a diffolution of his Marriage with the Queen Margaret, that he might marry his beloved Mistress La belle Gabrielle, Thu. ib. Perewhereof he began about this time to treat with the Pope's fix. p. 294. Legate And indeed, though I know not whether fo much be written by any, yet it feems very legible in the actions and occurrences which are written, that this was so powerful a motive with him, as made him not only defift from further enforcing the execution of the Decree, and total extermination of the Jesuites, but on the contrary to yield to their Refistation. For the Jesuites about this time taking occasion Thu, ibid. upon a Convention of the Clergy to offer him a lupplication, ceased not afterwards till by supplications and recommendations every where fought, they at last obtained their defire, the Pope's Legates sparing no pains on their behalf. So our Author, who afterward tells us, that when Ignatius L. 126. Armandus their Provincial, about a year before they were reflored, had made a Speech to the King for them, the King answered that the business was now in the Pope's hands, without whose direction he would determine nothing (negobium penes Pontificem effe, quo inconsulto nibil velit decernere). But it may be more plainly perceived in a passage afterward at their sestitution; for when the Parliament interceded L. 132. against their restitution, and were very averse from publishing the Kings Eidict for that purpole, at last comes And. Huralt us

Huraltus Meffius into the Senate, and acquaints them from

L. [23.

the King with the whole feries of the bufmefe, and tells them that above five years fince the Pope bad dealt with the King that the festites might be restored to the same state in the Kingdom wherein they were before the Decree. This was about the beginning of the year 1604; and the King having in the year 1508 treated with the Legate about the diffolution of his Marriage, as hath been faid, in the year 1599; he obtained the Pope's Breve to certain Delegates, who, upon hearing of the cause, pronounced the Marriage null ab initio; that this points us to the time exactly : and confidering the common practice of the Court of Rome to neglect no opportunity of promoting their own ends, it cannot be thought that they would let this go without some affurance from the King of the reftitution of the Jefaites, which at the fame time was earneftly follicited. It is true that the King's beloved Mif. who had engaged him to fend to the Pope about it, died in Child-birth before the commission to the Delegates was fent; yet this hinders not but the might before have prevailed with him to give all fatisfaction to the Pope in order to the obtaining of it, and that thereupon he might fo far have engaged to the Pope, that he knew nor afterwards how to get off when he would; and this it feems was the true reason why the business hung so long, and yet was done at laft. For thus Meffius goes on relating the feries of the bulinels, the King, lays he, put it off from day to day as much as be could, (he did not refule or excule himself from denying it, but fought delays) and when he could no longer (hife it off, be de die dixisse. Proposed certain erticles almost uniform to the contents of the Decree, and by bis Embassador laboured with the Pope to be content with their restitution under those conditions. For the Pope demanded their universal reftitution throughout the whole Kingdom but the King offered it in certain places appointed to a certain number, and in the Territories Subject to the Court of Paris were only two places affigned them. From that time two years paffed without any mention of the bufiness, whereat the King, who defired to gratifie the Pope in it, was troubled; at length the King's Ambaffador being instant with the Pope, be answered that the articles

Quantum potuerat diem

articles proposed by the King seemed to bim to be such as the Fefuites ought to be contensed with them, but that hitberto he bad deferred bis answer because the General of the Society (Aquanina) shewed bimself not at all satisfied with them, nor would subscribe to them. Oc. that the bufiness therefore was no longer in the King's power, but transacted by agreement between the King and the Pope; (rem proinde amplius non effe integram, fed de ea inter Regem & Pontificem quafi pacto transactum fuiffe) All which shews sufficiently that the Pope had then gotten some hank upon him which he could not get off. Nor can any other be easily assigned so probable as this which I have said. Only one thing more 'tis likely helped forward the bufiness, viz. a defire to secure his life by ingratiating himself with the regicides: for fo it is faid, that when his great favourite the D. of Sully diffwaded him from their re-admiffion, he Foul. 1. 9. c.2 answered, Give me then security for my life. And indeed though in his answer to that grave speech of the chief Prefident Harlay in the name of the Parliament, and in behalf of the University, representing to him, both from their principles and practices, the danger of what he was about, not only to the Kingdom, but to his own person, he made shew of great contempt of that danger, and hopes, which upon mature deliberation he had conceived of the good fruits which France might receive from their resitution, and also of confidence in God, who had thus preserved him hitherto, for his future prefervation; yet fince it does plainly appear by what was delivered by Mellius from him to the Senate, (and there can be no reason to think otherwise) that he was fore against his will (viz. through some inconsiderate pre-ingagement from which he could not recede) brought to in his other fayours to them belides their re-admittion, may be thought to proceed from this principle, and his shew of contempt of the danger to argue tather what he fought to conceal, than what he pretended, or as leaft that shar contempt proceeded from his hopes of feeting his own fafety by this means For what ever he pretended; it could not proceed from a well grounded confidence of God's protettion, withing inconfiftent with his living in continued known fin by reason of

and

vult Jupiter dementat pri-

bis Amores (which the Reverend Bilhop of Paris doth free quently deplore), and when he had before violated his conscience by his change of Religion for fecuring his Kingdom. For who can with confidence exped any favour from him whom he doth daily knowingly injure and offend? Belides that confidence is not always the meen refult of a good confcience, but is, often raifed in pionafouls by the focial influence of the Spirit of God who as he doth more and more encrease it in those who continually and fincerely endeavour to perfevere and go forward in a diligent observance of his will, and to raile their, fouls by a conflant exercise of the di-Chates of Reason and Faith, above the animal or bruitish na ture; to doth he always withdraw the fame from those who decline to bruitish affections, and if they go on fo to do, at Quos perdere last leaves them disspirited, and obnoxious to bale and deceitful shifts and devices, whereby they pull down mishief upon their own heads, especially when this is mint with ingratitude against great mercies. Non can a facrilegious and profane absolution, by those who cry peace peace, when there is no peace, ferve the turn, without a due repentance proportionable to the fault with all its aggravations, and a found reformation. And for what fauits he might expect from their restitution, for the good of the Kingdom his Parliament well. informed him by the mouth of their worthy President Harlay, in that notable speech which might well have deserved a larger place here, had not fo much been related already to that purpole from others. Anthey have all one common Name and Kom So bave they South be certain heads of Doctrine wherein they all pances as that they acknowledge no Superior befides the Pope, and to bim they give Faith and an abfolute Obedience, and firmly believe abas the Pope haib power to excommunicate Kings; but that a King excommunicate is a Typant, and thus his subjects may with impunity make inforrection against bim. This every one of them mbo is initiated though but in the lower Orders of the Churchia misasser anime be committed commos possibly those the crimbale Transon, beloasser in bey coremen as all they longer she King's Subjects, nor Subject to bis Farifaction. Thus are the Ecaleftaffiche by their Doctrine exemps from the feeder Pomery and

and lawfully may with impunity lay blondy (violent) bands upon the facred persons of Kings. This they affert in printed Books, Thefe falle and erroneous Doctrines cannot be admitted by Kings, and therefore it behoves that they who maintain them should before all things renounce the Same in their Schools. they do not, they ought by no means to be suffered, as those who maintain a Dollrine devised to the subversion of the fundamentals of royal power and authority. If they do, yet are they not much more to be trusted; for at Rome and in Spain, where these new monstrous opinions flourish, they think one thing, but speak \* ano- \* See their ther in France: and as they pass into this or that Country, so do Answers to the y take up a lay down these opinions. If they say that this proposed to they may lawfully do by + fecret Dispensation, then what certain them by the ty can be bad of their Doctrine, which is thus changed with their Court after change of place, and is good or bad according to the times? This the murder of Doctrine they embrace and maintain in common (all of them), Foul. 1.9. c.2. and it fo thrives by listle and little, that it is to be feared left in five, and the tract of time it infect the other orders, which are not yet levened Answer to Phi-At first they bad none more their adversaries than the Sor. lanax Angl. bonists, now many of them are their favourers, viz. those who received their first institution in their Schools. Others who are now t V. Spotstraining up in learning under them will hereafter do the like, and wood, Hift. of Scotl. 1. 6. an. one day hold the chief dignities in the Senate; and if they shall 1580. pag 308, think the same in point of Doctrine also, they will by degrees with- 309. dram themselves from their duty of obedience to the King. fet at naught the King's Laws, and Suffer the Liberties of the Gallicane Church to become obsolete, and wear out; and lastly. will reckon it no crime of Treason which is committed by an Ecclefiaftick. Then he goes on, and imminds him of the fruits which had already been produced from these principles; of Barriere, Varada, and Guignard, and Chattel, and of the laft King's murder, against whom this ongrateful Society stirred Gens ingrata. up the people to fedition, nor were they thought guiltless of that murder; that in the late wars, of other Orders many perfifted confiantly in the King's obedience; but thefe conjoyntly and unanimously conspired against him with the inveterate enemies of the Kingdom, (the Spaniard) not was there one of that Society found, who was of the King's

ch. 5. p. 128.

party, touches upon foreign examples, how in Portugal, they, and they only, deferting the cause of their Country, adhered to the Spaniards, and were the cause of the slaughters of so many Priests and devout Persons, two thousand perishing under the Spaniards in feveral manners; and by a fingular indulgence obtained the Pope's pardon of so many confessed flaughters: then having spoken of the reasonableness of the Decree which exterminates the Jesuites, and had been received without contradiction in all other Courts, had not they withstood it who were not well setled in the King's obedience, and were hardly brought off from their inveterate hatred against him, and answered objections, he presents the humble observations and obtestations of the Parliament for the continuance of it; and to these adds the humble supplication of the University; and at last imminds him of the regard which his Predecessors had always had to the intercessions of the Supreme Courts, at whose Petition or Advice they revoked or altered their Edicts, if they contained any thing amis; that this the Courts of the Kingdom besech his Majesty, and promise themselves from his Grace, that he will please to suffer them to enjoy their authority entire, which indeed is the authority of the King himself, as that which depends upon him, & c. But all would not do; notwithstanding the intercession of the Parliament, the deprecation of the University, the diffwasions of those he held both able and faithful to him; he had made an Edick, and it must be published, and the Jesuites restored, mal-gre mesme les avis de quelques uns de son Conscil. And they must not only be restored, but moreover have a new Colledge built them at La Flesche, which the King endowed with an annual Rent of 11000 Crowns (Aurei) and prevailed with the Clergy for 100000 more toward the building of it; and he also orders that the hearts of Himself, his Queen, and their Successors shall be there intombed in a Church to be built by himself; and in the mean time a Father of that Society is admitted to the inspection and conduct of his own, being made his ordinary Preacher and Confessor, viz. Father Cotton, who pre-Cently thereupon began to thew his zeal for the Pope against a Sentence

Sentence of the Colledge of Divines passed two years before, wherein they had afferted the Liberties of the Gallican Church against the Pride, and Haughtiness, and Avarice of Rome; and among other things, that other Bishops have power to order the publick affairs of the Church within v. 1. 129. their own Diocess, as well as the Roman Bishop in his; and at his inflance by the command of the King; for the Court L, 144. could not be brought to confent to it, not only the marble Table whereon the Decree was engraved, but the Pyramid it felf, with all the other inscriptions in detestation of that fact of Chastel, was taken down and demolished; and the printed-Cuts of it prohibited; which being notwithstanding greedily bought up, diligent fearch was by the King's command made for the brass Plate from which they were printed, which yet was not found till few days before the murder of this King also renewed the common hatred against the Jesuits.

59. But before we proceed to the murder it self of this King, it will be necessary to take notice of some other Conspiracies against him, whereof some were contemporary with those of Barriere and Chastel, though not discovered till afterward, and some were since. The first of Nic. Malavicinus the Pope's Legate relident with the Arch-Duke at Thu. I. 123. Bruxels, who having every where fought for an affaffine, at last light upon Ch. Ridicone a Dominican Friar of Gant, who was very ready to lay down his life for the cause of Religion; but before he would undertake this business, desired in the first place to have the authority of the Pope and Cardinal's approbation; wherefore the Legate for his satisfaction gave him a writing under his hand in the name of the Pope and Cardinals, to that purpole, and having furnished him with Mony, and bleffed him with the fign of the Cross, he dismissed him, giving him also for his better security from discovery, a faculty or dispensation to wear a secular habit, of a Souldier, and to ride, dance, fence, &c. Being thus prepared for the business, the Jesuite Hoduma, to whom his Mother at confession had discovered the agreement, defired to fee him, and having viewed him, difliked nothing but his little stature, saying that there needed a more robust man. In his

1593.

his journey at Vermand he understood that the King was Teconciled to the Church, and came to the Crown by lawful fuccession, yet he went on as far as St. Denys, but from thence returned to Bruxels to the Legate, and gave him this reason of his return; whereat the Legate shaked his head, and relling him that the Bearnois (so he called the King) and all his party flood fill excommunicated by the Pope, perfwaded him to persevere in his purpose; to whom Ridicone answered, if I could see the Pope's mandate, then it should foon be confidered on. At the same time Pet. Arger of the same Monastery at Gant, having first treated with Malavicinus at Bruxels, and then going to Rome, being returned from thence, likewise undertook the design of killing the King. Some time after Ridicone, with whom a fervant of the Legates had afterward dealt in secret, went also to Rome, whither Malavicinus had returned, where being by him confirmed in his purpose, he took his journey by Milan, and having there communicated the business to the Spanish Ministers, he came into France about the fame time that Alex. Medices the Pope's Legate arrived there, the King being then reconciled not only to the Church but to the Pope also. At last being taken, when the King faw that the business could not be examined in a judiciary way without the great infamy of Malavicinus, and that not without some reflexion upon the Pope with whom he was already reconciled, and moreover casting some suspition upon the Arch-Duke to the disturbance of the business of peace, whereof some overtures had been made by the Legate, he resolved to dissemble it, and dismiss Ridicone out of the Kingdom, requiring him not to return again upon pain and penalty of Treason. Being returned to Gaunt, he refurned his former defign of killing the King, and after some secret conference at the Monastery of St. Vincent in the King of Spain's Territories, he returned again into France, where being again apprehended, he was condemned and executed. At his Trial being asked how he could think of such a thing as to kill the King, he answered that by the frequent Sermons from the Pulpit, and daily Disputations in the School, which he heard; and moreover the praises of Fames Clemont.

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Clemont, as of a glorious Martyn who had devoted bimfelf for shaliberty of the Brenob, every where refounding, not only at the Churches; but in the Markets, Streets, and at Feafts; be was eafily persmaded that be should do a thing pleasing and acceptable to God, who should kill the cruel Tyrant, who withour any right sore in pieces that most Christian Kingdom with the loss of so many fouls ; and therefore when Malavicimes did moreover fornish him with the authority of God and the Pope to the purpole, be readily undertook it; being put to the rack he made no other o niethon than he had done before. At the fame time was alforexecuted one Nie. Angles a Capuchin Frier of St. Michelinathe Diocess of Thousan Lorrain; being convicted and condemned for the same crime. The next year after Ridicone was first apprehended, and while he was in prison, Dedefme a Minister of the King of Spain, employed one Pet. Owen a Carthufian Frier, who, for his diffolute Thu. 1. 118. manners being centured in his Monastery, had fled into Spain, to Suborn an emissary to murder the King: Owen. having treated with a Souldier in the King's Army about it, to whom he had made great promifes, was himself the next year after apprehended and convicted both be witnesse and by his own confessions; but was pardoned by the King in respect to the Carthusians, being latis fied to have taken the evidence in a judicial manner, whereupon he might when he pleased expostulate with the Spaniards. But shortly after these things ensued the Peace with Spain at Vervins, and not long after forme hopes given of the rollitution of the feluites, which was at last granted as we have feen: whereupon one might have thought that his enemies being all either subdued or reconciled, having reconciled himself to the Church, to the Pope, to those of the League who remained unfubdued, to the Spaniard, and to the Jefuites, that he should henceforward have enjoyed his Kingdom, his new Religion which had brought all thefe bleffings with ity and his Misses too, at least his life, in fastry. But alas, it may be feared he had forgotten to reconcile himself truly to his God, which made the rest but male facts gratio, que ne quicquam cois & refeinditur: For; when a mans ways pleafe

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Thu. 1. 132. 1604.

the Lord, be maketh even bis enemies to be at peace with bim. But while he was thus endeavouring to engage the Tefuites to himself, the Spaniard on the other side spared neither pains, nor cost, nor promises, that by their emissaries they might allere to themselves the minds of those who through the late Civil Wars were alienated from him, and under the specious colour of Religion might invite them to disturb the publick peace and quiet of the Kingdom, laying hold on all occasions for that purpose: and that they might discover his arcana & fecret counfels, and from the knowledge of them. the better order their own designs, made it their main business to corrupt those who were employed by the principal Officers and Ministers of State. Thus among others, Nie. L'Offe, whom the Secretary Villeroy employed in decyfering letters, being corrupted by them with an annual pension of 1200 Crowns, continually discovered all the secrets of them to the Spanish Embassador. They had before corrupted the Marethat de Biron, and some other persons of Quality, which being discovered, brought him to his end about two years fince; and now they not only again fet upon the Count d'Auvergne, L 132.& 134. who had been convicted of Biron's conspiracy, and pardoned, but also the Seigneur d'Entragues, and the Marquise de Vernevil his beautiful and witty daughter, the King's Mils, to corrupt them, and that by no meaner or other agents than their Embassadors in France, Fo. Taxis, and his successor Batth. Sunice, who, to introduce him at first, made use of an English fugitive Th. Morgan, an actor in the Conspiracies against his own Princels Queen Elizabeth. The next year this fame Embassador Suniga, first in person, and afterwards, to avoid suspition, by his Secretary Brunellus, treated, and at last agreed with Lewis Merargues a Gentleman of Provence to betray Marscilles to the King of Spain; which both Merargues and Brunellus confessed, being apprehended in private conference in Merargues's Chamber; and in Brunellus his hofe under his garter was a paper found, written in Spanish with his own hand, which confirmed the same. [Un memoire consenant le plan de son entreprise. Perefix. These things I the rather note, because of use as well to confirm the truth of their like practices

L. 128.

L. 134. 1605 practices in England, as to help to ground some conjecture

on concerning the murder of this King.

60. While the Spaniards are thus active to continue their old, and make new friends in France, it is not likely they would be unmindful of the Jesuites, whom they had always found fuch ready instruments to serve them, and in other Countries were fill as well affected to the interest of Spain V.1. 135. 136. and the house of Austria, though contrary to that of their own Countrey, as ever. Nor is it to be thought that the Jesuites would be so easily drawn off from their old Friend and Patron, by those little expressions of kindness, not sufficient to compensate their injuries received; and besides, might be doubtful whether proceeding from any real affection to them or not; especially considering their subjection to the same F. General, by whom the motion of their society in other Countries under their several Provincials, is in a correspondent uniformity steered; only 'tis probable, as becomes wife men, they would be cautious and wary how they did hazard the loss of what they had gotten, and therefore act upon pretty fure grounds; yet we meet with some instances of their affection to their old friend. For, to say nothing of F. Cotton, a prime man of the Society, and the King's Confessor, his consulting a supposed Dæmoniack concerning the \* King's life, the same Father is reported to have + brought \* L. 122. and recommended to the King a certain Spaniard, of whom † P. du Mouthe King a while after received from Monsieur de la Force lin, Answ. to Vice-Roy of Bearne and Navar, a description, with an adver- Philanax, tisement that such a day he went from Barcelona into France, with intent to kill his Majesty, and shewing his letter to Cotton, commanded him to bring the man again, but Cotton returning a good while after, told him he was gone, and could not be found; and that not a year before the King was murdered he was in difference for writing \* divers things to the \* p. du Mon-Provincial of the Jesuites in Spain, which the King had re- lin, ibid. vealed to him in confession: and that + the D. of Sully pro- + Foul. 9. c. 2. ved to the King that he was guilty of betraying his fecrets. What these secrets were I find not; but this is to be noted, that he had then a great defign in hand, which, whether the fame

Perefix, an. 1608.

Foul. ibid. Per. an. 1609:

Foul. ibid.

Moulin, ibid.

fame or not which he pretended, and which is related by the D. of Sully, and from him by Perefix the Arch-Bifhop of Paris, he had in pursuance of it raised a great Army, which flartled both Spain and Rome. He had about two years before his death entred into a League Offenfive and Defenfive with those Hereticks and Rebels against the Catholick King, the Hollanders, whereof the Spaniards grievously complained, Don Pedro de Toledo representing to him that the ruine or conversion of the Hereticks was the common interest of all the Catholick Princes, and what great wars his Master had made upon that defign: and was now, though the Pope had earneftly dehorted him from any more arming, going in person, with an Army of 40000 choice men, to affift the D. of Brandingburg with his Allies the Protestant Princes, in the business of Cleves and Juliers, whereof the Emperor complained, as that which could not be without wrong to the Catholick Religion; and what was worst of all, this expedition was not doubted to be only a cover for some greater defign, that bufiness of Cleves falling out very opportunely to furnish him with a good occasion to commence the execution of his projects. While the King was raising this Army, in France was a great Book secretly kept by some Priests, wherein many did subscribe their fidelity and obedience to the Pope, many of the subscriptions in blood; and at Rome, (the Pope having dehorted him from arming) four months before he was murthered, was the Decree against John Chaftel censured, and forbidden to be read, by an Act of the Confiftory, together with the History of Thuanus for relating too plainly that horrid action of Chaftel, and the part which the Tesuites had in it; and likewise a Book of Mariana the Jefuite, but not that which approve th the murthering of King's, which by that means, was in some fort, that is, tacitly and implicitly approved. At last, having as well ordered all things for the Government at home in his absence, as perfected his preparations for the Expedition, he was impatient to be gone from the City, partly through his eager defire of pursuing the exploit, partly boding and presaging some mischief to his person, if he should stay longer there. But

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the Queen, to whom he had committed the Regency in his absence, assigning her a select Council, through the insliga. Per. p. 489: tion of Conchini and his Wife, being very importunate with Quære, who was this Conhim that she might be crowned before his departure, he would chini who pue not deny her that testimony of his affection, though other- this into the wife very unwilling, and withal told her, 'That that Coro. Queens head? nation did presage him some mischief; they would kill him; I think an Itahe thould never go from that City; his enemies had no rence. other remedy but his death; it was told him that he hould be flain at the first grand magnificence that he should make, and that he should die in a Coach; which 'made him taken with a trembling when he was in one. He was counselled for the avoiding of the unhappy prophecies to depart the next day, and to leave the Coronation, which might well be done without him: but this extremely offended the Queen, and therefore to satisfie her, he staid. with fuch fuccets as was foretold. For the next day after the Coronation, when in the morning \* he had been very fad and \* Continuatipensive, one while casting himself upon his bed to seep, on of de Serthen again when he could not fleep, arifing to his prayers, res. doing this feveral times, in the afternoon he would need go to the Arfenal to visit the Duke of Sully, who was there indisposed, though the Duke of Vendosme imminded him that he had been warned to beware of the fourteenth day; but contemning the warning and predictions, out of a defire to conceal his fear, (just as he had done before in the restitution of the Jesuites, contrary to the advice and perswasions of his best friends) in the way his Coach being stayed by a stop made by two Carts accidentally meeting in a narrow perel freet, he was flabbed between the fecond and third rib, and at a second blow to the heart, whereof he died prefently. The Affassin was one Francis Ravaillac, formerly a Monk, but at that time a Sollicitor. What motives, persmasions or instigations he might have to this wicked act, is much in the dark; but that it was, not out of revenge for any personal injury the meanness of his quality may induce us to believe; and besides no such thing was ever pretended or alledged. Nor was it out of hope of any temporal advantage; for then he

+ See the Petition of the University of Paris in the continuation of Serres; K. James's Defence of the Right of Kings fub finem; from the Ex-Process.

V. The Petition and Mou-

would have fled, and endeavoured to have faved himfelf, which he did not in the least; but therefore upon the score of Religion, which is further manifest; for it seems he had in him some of the leven of the League, and was perswaded that the King went to overthrow the Catholick Religion in Germany. He + faid that the King made War contrary to the Pope's liking, and boldly alledged, at his examination, this reason for what he did, That the King had a design to make war against God, because he prepared war against his Holines; for making war against the Pope, is the same as to make war against God. This is further confirmed by his carriage both at his Apprehension, Examination, and Execution. When he had redoubled his stroke, and offered a Foul. p. 646. third, he never so much as stirred from the place, or offered to conceal the knife, but stood still, as if he desired to be taamination and ken notice of, and gloried in the exploit; and (which may also help to satisfie us that he did it not of his own meer motion) at his examination, were evident marks found in him of the lin,p.126.137. Doctrine of the Jesuites, and to the Divines who were sent to him, he shewed himself perfectly instructed in all their distinctions and evasions about Rebellion and King-killing, though otherwise very ignorant in all other Learning. Lastly, at his Execution, such was his constancy in the midst of his terrible tortures, as strongly confirmed the suspition that certain Emissaries under the massque of piety had instructed and enchanted him by false affurances that he should dye a Martyr, if he killed him, whom they made him believe was the sworn enemy of the Church: and possibly he might have been charmed by some such incantations as were heretofore used to Barriere; and yet, as 'tis said, he did confess thus much, that he had informed Father d'Aubigny of his intended murther, and shewed him the knife; but it was in confession, and therefore not to be revealed; and the Jesuite upon examination protested that God had given him the grace, that as foon as any thing was revealed to him in confession, he presently torgot it. The Jesuites were generally suspected and censured as guilty, and several suspitious passages in their Sermons lately preached, particularly by F. Hardy and F. Gon-

Foal. p. 642.

F. Gontier, were called to mind: and thereupon the Parliament ordered the Jesuite Mariana's Book de Rege & Regis Continuat. of Institutione to be burned by the common Executioner: and Serres, p. 1295 afterward condemned a Book of Suarez (Defensio Fidei Foul. p. 646. Cath.) as containing many Seditious and treasonable Principles; and after this another of another Jesuite, Ant. Sanctarellus (de Hærefi, Schismate, &c.) printed at Rome with the approbation of the General, and at the same time Foul. ibid. Moul. ubi sup. questioned F. Cotton, and other chief men of their Society about their Doctrine in this respect; but this was many years after the murder. But that the History is so sparing in this particular of the acceffories, it felf gives us a good reason; the Judges themselves who examined him, says Perefix, durst not open their mouths, and never spoke of it but with a shrug of their (houlders; and that some grand thing was hushed up, may be supposed from the publick complaint of the Prince of Conde and others five years after, that the discovery of this murther was stopped, and not fully profecuted. It should feem domestick and foreign jealousies conspired in it. that it was not done without the privity of others, is further confirmed from the Predictions of it, the general bruit which fore-ran it, and the King's enemies confident expectation of it. His enemies, says Perefix, were then in a profound silence; which possibly was not caused by their consternation and fear of the success of his arms, but for the expectation they had to see some great blow, which was all their hope. It was foretold in an Almanack brought to Peirescius out of Spain, printed November before; which Gaffendus, though he doubts not but the Artist might have some dealing with an evil genius, yet thinks he might foresee by other means, as being privy to the conspiracy, which indeed is the more likely because it was composed by a Beneficiary or Beneficed man. of Barcellonia or Barcinonia, from whence the Spanish Emisfary above mentioned came to Paris to Father Cotton, by whom he was recommended to the King. And perhaps of Perefix. the same kind with this was that Prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow, which was found written Continuat. of in a paper upon the Altar at Montargis. The Provost of Serres.

Plu-

\* Li. 2. de

Pluviers, who, 'tis faid, was a Jesuite in Faction, and had a Son a lesuite, being accused to have said the same day that the King was murthered, that he was flain or wounded that day, strangled himself in prison. And indeed such and so many were the predictions and reports of it at the time, and before it was done, which are mentioned by \* Gaffendus, Perevita Peireskii. fix, and others, as make it very apparent that it was generally fore-known both in Spain and Italy, or at least that there was then many emissaries sent out to do it, and that it was confidently expected that it would certainly be done. ly it is somewhat strange that those circumstances, at his next Solemnity, in his Coach, and the very day of the month, fhould be so precisely foretold, as it seems it was in that manner that he gave credit to it, though no credulous person, and was fo fad and dejected, that he was like one condemned to death, though by nature neither fearful nor melancholy. He had advertisements to this purpose by his Embassadors. and namely by Jo. Bochartus from Venice; and by others from twenty feveral places. But it feems it was decreed, the Decree was gone out, and it must be executed.

> This end had Henry le Grand in the height of his Grandure; much like the fall of some stately structure deceitfully built upon an infirm foundation, when just raised to its He was frighted in his youth into a change of his Profession, for the saving of his life, (the first, but bitter fruit of his being unequally yoked) but that being only through teror and constraint, he returned again, when he found a convenient opportunity to the open profession of his own Religion. It was about the eighteenth year of his age, when his youth might make his yielding to fo extraordinary terror, heightned by the fad spectacle of the horrid murthers of all his friends, the more excufable. About eighteen years after, when he was grown up to maturity, about the thirty fixt year of his age, and had given some testimony of his constancy in his Profession; and for his encouragement had received no small testimonies of Divine favour, not only preferving and conducting him fafe through many dangers and difficulties, but leading him by the hand to the possession of

the Kingdom, and making way for him by the extirpation of a whole Family, another Trial was affigned him by the great Agonothetes; who never ceaseth to provide new matter and V. Ecclefiastioccasions of trial and exercise for all those who once apply cus, 2. 1. 2, 3, themselvs to his service, till either by many mutual experiments &c. given and received of their fidelity and constancy to him, and of his admirable Providence never failing them, but ordering all for their good, they become more than Conquerors, and well fetled and confirmed in his fervice, Cone great reason of the difficulties and advertities wherewith good men are frequently exercised) or on the other side, after many acts of unfaithfulness, whereby their courage and resolution is more and more broken and abated, they become easily affrighted or allured from their duty, and at last either wholly deserting, or little regarding the same, are accordingly by him abandoned to the deceitful and pernitious courses of their own lusts and devices. The former was a trial whether he would be frighted or forced from his fidelity; this rather whether he would be allured from it. In the former he failed; and now having had time to repent, and refume new courage and resolution, he is again called upon the stage; and in the first affault he behaved himself not much amis. For, who can mislike his referring all to the determination and advice of a lawful General, or National Council, had be been fincere, and continued constant in this resolution? Nor did he want V. Thu. 1.98. encouragement in this respect from the forward and coura- 101, & 103. gious opposition which on his behalf was made against the Pope's Bulls, by his Subjects even of the Roman Communion, and not only by the Civil Power, but the Clergy also concurring therein; who moreover gave him a fair opportunity, and kind of invitation either by setting up a Patriarch in France, (which had been very agreeable to the first V. Thu.l. 103. flourishing state of the Church after the times of Persecution) or by restoring to the Arch-Bishops and Bishops their ancient authority (which was in some fort done, and held for four years after) to have cast of that Antichristian yoke of the Papal Usurpations, (under which he afterwards, neglecting that opportunity, unhappily enflaved himself and his King-

L. 107.

dom) and so having reformed that grand, abominable abuse. he might with the more facility, afterwards have established. by the mature deliberation of a lawful Council, such a Reformation of the Gallican Church as perhaps might not have been inferior to any which hath been made in other places. And afterwards, when he refolved to be reconciled to the Church, they admitted and absolved him, notwithstanding the Pope's Legate opposed it all he could, contending that he could not be absolved by any but the Pope. But these things which might have given encouragement to a conscientious and truly pious mind, to constancy and further dependance upon God, to him perhaps proved a further tentation; their fidelity to him making their perswasions to change his Religion the more prevalent with him; especially concurring with a more powerful motive, viz. the reducing of the rest of the Kingdom to his obedience. And therefore, though like David he waxed stronger and stronger, and the League, like the house of Saul, waxed weaker and weaker, yet in about half the time that David was kept out of the greatest part of his Kingdom, he began to yield to the tentation. And first, when the Leaguers, through the incitations of the Pope and the King of Spain, were about to affemble to choose a Catholick King, (though that was not unlikely to break their party by their emulations and divisions concerning the person) forgetting his former resolutions, and neglecting his conscience, instead of dependance upon the Divine Providence, he applies himself to humane Policies, and resolves to change his Religion, without staying for the determination of a lawful either General or National Coun-And this, after a few hours instruction, whereby he pretended he was much informed of what he was ignorant be-\*L. 107, 108. fore, being folemnly done, he next, not long after, by a \* special Embalfador makes supplication to the Pope to be admitted to his favour. And though he had presently hereupon two notable experiments, by the attempts of Barriere and Chastel, of the vanity and deceitfulness of such shifts and humane Policies, without the favour of the Divine Protection and Bleffing, (besides a faithful and sound admonition from

L. 107.

from the good Queen Elizabeth) yet his confidence and reliance upon God, being before weakned, (it commonly proving with perverted minds as with corrupted stomachs, which turn their natural food and nourishment into the nourishment of their difease) these did but provoke him to the more earnest pursuit of humane politick means; and therefore again, when he had already broken the party of the League, and Paris, wherein their chief strength lay, had submitted to L. 109. him, and besides all this, the Pope had unworthily repulsed L. 103. his Embassador, and given him a just provocation, (which certainly he might have improved, with the concurrence and good liking of the French Nobility and Clergy, toward the reformation of that abominable abuse of the Papacy, which is the original or prop of all the rest) he was not withstanding eafily wrought upon at the flight intimation of the Pope, (who, when he faw it was in vain longer to oppose him, was very willing to receive his submission) to send another Em- L. 113. bassie, and basely prostrate himself to him: basely I say, because it is not likely that he did it out of Conscience or Religion, but rather out of fear of Emissaries and Assassins, which is \* exprelly mentioned by his Agents to the Pope, as a mo- \* A percustotive to his reconciliation: and for the same reason, 'tis likely, ribus, qui quoas hath been shewed before, he at last, notwithstanding all tidie vite ejus perswasions, earnest intercessions and supplications to the con-metuentem. trary, restored the Jesuites again, and among other favours subjected the government of his conscience to them. This was the foundation upon which he built his Greatness, which having laid for his fecurity, he presently set himself to heap up Treasures, and at last raised a great Army for the execution of some grand design, which, whatever it was in truth, he pretended to be for the promotion of the Christian cause against the Infidels. But alas, all was built upon a fandy foundation; he had forfaken the rock of his falvation, and relying upon vain policies had ungratefully forfaken him, by whom he never had, nor should have been forfaken, so long as he continued faithful and constant to his duty; and prostituting his conscience to obtain a staff of reed, had broken the staff of his furest confidence, aggravating also the offence of Ila. 35.6. his

\* Pag. 461.

his spiritual Fornication, and the burden of his galled conscience (which is alwaies heaviest in times of danger) by perfifting in the continual foundals of his Amores, whereof the Arch-Bishop Perefix often complains, as juffly to be blamed \* in a Christian Prince, a man of his age, who was married, on whom God had conferred fo great mercies, and who had fuch great enterprizes in his band. This was it which made his apprehenfion of his approaching death fo firong and lamentable, and subjected him to the effects of that Religion to which he had subjected himself, as those who consult and crave the affiftance of witches and evil spirits, make themselves thereby the more obnoxious to their power and malice. Thus did he fall from that Grandure which by the space of near another eighteens years he had been raising upon this false foundati-Such profane policies subjecting Religion to a subservience to fecular ends, though fuccesful for a while, yet frequently at last concluding in an unhappy catastrophie. Nor could the specious prerence of his grand defign find acceptance with him, who prefers obedience before facrifice. This was it which was in general forefeen and foretold by our good Queen by a more genuine spirit of Prophesic, and from better Principles than they were moved by who forefold the same indeed more particularly, but yet only like witches and evil spirits, who foretell the storms they mean to raise. And she her self, who built her assurance upon a better foundation, continuing constant to the last to her Conscience and Religion. and to her God, was by him constantly blessed and preserved to the last, during a Reign more than twice as long as his, and from conspiracies neither sewer nor in themselves less dangerous than those against him: and this was it which made her to hear the full relation of a horrid conspiracy against her person with that undaunted courage which amazed him who should have been the actor of it, to behold it: and with admirable constancy to contemn the many like conspiracies which she certainly knew were at one and the same time by the Seminaries and Spanish Ministers in agitation against her, reposing her confidence in him whom the knew was able to fave her, with this pious ejaculation, Thou are

Parry apud Cambd. an. 1585. Cambd. an. 1594. See before, p 26,27.

Pf. 31. 14.

my

my God, my times are in thy hand: not, They will kill me, I

hall never go out of this City, I hall dye, &c.

62. The same distinguishing Providence might be further observed in another History, to which this is a proper introduction; but leaving that to the observation of others, I will here conclude with some REFLECTIONS AND OB-SERVATIONS upon what hath been already related. that we may see what use and improvement may be made. of it.

1. And first in the History of England, we may plainly behold the continuance of the combination of Rome and Spain. which was the occasion of that part of the discourse, even to the very time of those consultations, which were defigned to commence in execution immediately upon the Queens death; which may therefore reasonably induce us to believe that it did not then cease; but was continued in, and produced at last, that monster of all devillish and infernal conspiracies of blowing up the whole State at one blow.

2. We may therein also clearly perceive the justice, reasonableness, and even necessity of those Laws, which in the Queens Reign were made to prevent and restrain those wicked practices of the Jesuites, and other Romish and Spanish Emissaries, and their disciples; which hath been acknowledged by some

of the more lober Priests.

2. We must also therein take notice of the admirable Providence of God in the preservation of that Queen from so many, so various, so mysterious secret conspiracies, (the truth of which is further confirmed by the like practices of the Romish and Spanish Agents in France, and other places about the fame times) and from fo great open hostility, one while diverting, another while defeating her enemies, and making her victorious: and this notwithstanding the several \* excom- \* V. sed. 26, munications, and solemn execrations and imprecations of se- 33, 36. veral Popes one after another against her; as of Pius 5. Greg. 13. Sixtus 5. and Clement 8. which were all not only ineffectual, but rather turned into a bleffing unto her.

4. In the History of France compared with the other, that distinguishing Providence, which was the occasion of that part

of the discourse, is no less conspicuous and observable in a most remarkable judgment of God upon all those who either persecuted, or deserted, or so much as refused or neglected that reformation of Religion which the happily established and defended; for in this last fort also we have + noted it, though by the by, and this notwithstanding all the incitations and encouragements of several Popes and Cardinals. So that here we have a most remarkable example of their Curses turned into a Bleffing, and their Bleffings into a Curfe.

+ V. fect. 48. P. 97--- 100.

C. 17.

C. 18.

5. And here if we take for Principles the two last of 4. De Ecclesia, Bellarmines Notes of the true Church of Christ, the one, the unhappy exit or end of those who oppose the Church. 'For (as he adds) although God punisheth his, and whips them, yet 'at length he casts the rod into the fire; Deut, 32 43. Praise · his people ye Nations, for he will avenge the blood of his 'servants, and render vengance upon their adversaries: the other, the temporal felicity by the Divine Providence conferred on those who defend it. For never, says he, did Catholick Princes cordially adhere to God, but they most easily became triumphant over their enemies. If, I fay, we take these for our Principles, it will be very easy for any one, upon what hath been here related, to make the conclusion; viz. which is the true Church of Christ, and which the meretricious and adulterous; who have been true Catholick Princes, and who the Kings of the Earth who have committed fornication with the great Whore, the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints; and this will further appear from what follows.

6. And therefore in both these Histories we may also take notice of the actions and practices of the Popes and their party, their Adherents, Agents, Emissaries and Disciples, viz. exciting and fomenting wars and invalions among Christian Princes, with breach of publick Faith; seditions and rebellions by Subjects against their own Princes, and the murders of Princes by their own Subjects, encouraged thereunto by an impious pretence of absolution from their duty of Obedience, and even oaths of Fidelity, and by promise of Reward, even of greatest eternal Reward, for that which hath been abhorred abhorred by all other Religions, and always reputed contrary even to the Laws of Nations and of War; and perfecutions and horrible flaughters of Christian people by their own Princes: and all this by an abominable abuse of Religion, and the most sacred and solemn parts of Religion; and only for their own cause, for the upholding of the Papal Inno-

vations, Usurpations and Antichristian abuses.

Note; The persecutions and slaughters of Christian people excited by the Popes, upon the account of Religion, since the sirst appearing of the Waldenses and Albigenses, may be thought, for the numbers slain, to come near, if not to equal the Heathen persecutions, or rather much exceed them. In the first persecutions against that people, which were raised whether by the exhortation, or decree and command, as some say, of Pope Innocent 3. are reckoned to be slain in France alone 1000000 of people; and of later days have been reckoned 150000 Christians, within the space of scarce 30 years, consumed by the Inquisition. But these

are things out of our present story.

7. We may here likewise observe the nature and manner of their actions and practices, which consist of the two great species of injustice, vis & dolus, violence and fraud, open force, and secret and mysterious practices and machinations, and so make up a compleat mystery of iniquity. The one we may behold not only in the Spaniard's Forces raised and employed at the instigation of the Pope and his Agents, but also in the Forces raised by the Popes themselves (who pretend themselves Vicars of the Prince of Peace, and as Christian Bishops, should be the Preachers of Peace, and not the Trumpets of War) both against the Queen of England and the King of France: and the other in the secret practices of the Jesuites and other Consessor and Emissaries, exciting to Rebellions, and to assass and to assass and to assass and the Princes.

8. And here taking another of Bellarmines Notes of the true Ca. 13. Church, viz. Sanctity of Life of the Anthors and Propagators Mat. 7. 16. of the Religion; and our Saviour's rule, By their fruits ye final Gal. 5. 19, 22. know them; together with his Apostles Catalogues of the works of the Flesh, and of the fruits of the Spirit; for our Principles, it will not be difficult to conclude whether these

men ...

2 Thef. 2.

men be the Authors or Propagators of the true Religion, (for here, for their Religion that only is to be taken about which the difference is, and for which they contend, feeking by thefe means to maintain and promote it) or rather of an abominable innovation, and corruption of the true Religion; and whether their Church be the true and faithful Church of Christ, or rather that mystery of iniquity, that abomination of desolation, that man of fin and son of perdition, who

hath fet up himself in the Temple of God.

V. Foul. l. I. c. 4. & l.z.c.1. V. Foul. l. 2. C. 2. 5, 6. V. Foul. 1. 2. C. 3, 4.

o. We may here also behold the Principles from whence all these actions and practices have proceeded, viz. I. That the Bishops of Rome, as successors of St. Peter, have a supreme power and authority derived to them from Christ over all Christian Persons and Churches, all Nations and Kingdoms. all Princes and States. 2. That by this power and authority they may lawfully absolve subjects from all duty of Obedience and oath of Fidelity to their otherwise lawful Princes and Governors; and depoting them, may dispose of their Kingdoms and States to whom they think fit. 3. That Princes excommunicate by the Pope are no longer to be obeyed by their Subjects, but to be deprived of their Kingdoms and lives. 4. That to rife in Arms against such Princes excommunicate, or by any means to murder and destroy them, is not only lawful, but moreover meritorious even in their own subjects; and that to die in such an attempt is martyrdom, &c. And of all this we have here a more effectual evidence than only from the writings or printed Books of some private men, viz. in the Bulls and Acts of the Popes themfelves, of Universities and Colledges of Divines, the frequent Sermons of their Preachers, and Instructions of Confessors, and Practices of their Penitents.

Note ; It is here to be noted that besides these Practices and Principles so pernisious and destructive to the Sacred, though Givil Right of Princes and States, and the peace and quiet of Common wealths, there are others no less permitious and destructive to the Church, and to the Salvation of particular persons. which, because they come not within the compass of this History.

we take no notice of.

to. And here we may fee what is the Religion of thefe men. For though there be other points in controverty, whereof many little more than meer verbal, about words and expresfions, which are kept up only through heat of contention, and might eafily be agreed by fober, judicious, and differereffed persons; and others originally only the private opinions of some men of great authority in their times, wherein the substance of Religion is no more concerned than in the speculations of Philosophers, though now commonly received and adopted into Religion by the Popes and their Faction, whether for fecular advantage, or to hold up their pretended Infallibility; yet thefe are their Kueza Joga, their \* fundamen- \* V. Sandys tal and ruling Principles for which they contend; the Principles from whence all these Persecutions, Wars, Massa-Head Asserticres and Murders have proceeded, and the Religion, ons.p. 24. in que nunc novo exemplo Martyres facit,

as + Del Rio speaks in the case of Garnet whom he and Bellarmine will needs have to be a \* Martyr whether he will or not. But perhaps some may say that this is not the faith or practice of all of that communion. Nor do I think it is, but that many are better Christians than to be imposed upon by the strength of such delusions; fuch especially who living in such Churches as continue in that communion, are not satisfied to separate from their own Church, though they clearly perceive

and abominate these abuses, and heartily defire their reformation; and many such I doubt not but there have been and still are among the most sober, judicious, and pious of the French, even of the Clergy. And though I am very willing to think charitably of many of our English Romanists, yet I fee not how they can be excused who separate from the Church of England, which is and ought to be their own Church, (fo long as it continues a member of the Church of Christ, which an unjust excommunication by an apostate Church

† Vindic. Areopag. c. 27. p. 124.

\* To whom we may fay with Optatus, lib. 3. Si illos videri Martyres vultis, probate illos amasse pacem, in qua sunt Prima Fundamenta Martyrii: aut dilexiffe Deo placitam unitatem, ant babuisse cum fratribus charitatem. Nam omnes Christianos fratres effe-probavimus. --- Charitatem illos non habuisse manifestisseme constat, sine qua nullum vel nominari potest vel effe martyrium, faith be to the Donatifts, p. 99.

Church cannot hinder) to joyn with fuch a Faction. Nor do I fee how they can be excused who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance, which I am very confident not a man of the ancient Christians would have refused: and it is hard not to think that because they received not the love of the truth offered to them, that for this cause God hath sent them strong delusions that they should believe a lie, &c. But notwithstanding that some, who for the reason mentioned continue in that communion, may by the mercy and grace of God escape these delusions, yet it is apparent that these are the Doctrines of the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome, and of the Jesuites; and the rest are generally so seasoned and levened with such conceits of the Pope's authority, as are eafily improved into these when ever occasion is offered, especially if any thing of private interest intervene, as is very observable in the History of France, (though they of all Papists are least inclined to favour the Papal Usurpations) where scarce a City, unless restrained by the powerful presence of fome of the loyal Nobility, or inhabited most by Protestants, but did, or was ready to revolt to the League at every occafion.

\* C. 11.

+ C. 9.

11. And here again, if we take for our Principles two more of Bellarmine's Notes of the true Church, viz. \* Sanctity of Doctrine, consaining nothing false as to the Doctrine of Faith, nothing unjust as to the Doctrine of Manners: and, + Agreement in Doctrine with the ancient Church: we may hence also conclude whether this Church of Rome hath continued a true and faithful Church of Christ, or hath indeed made that defection, which was foretold should succeed the dissolution of the Roman Empire, as the Christians in all ages have unanimously and universally understood that which should be taken away, and become the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth, which is expresly said of the mystical Babylon, the great City which then reigned over the Kings of the Earth; the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints; whether there reigneth not that man of fin, the con of Perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all bas is called God, (above all nominal Gods, as Kings and Emperors) perors) or that is worshipped, (or teve- ...) say says salt renced) fo that he, as God freeth in the cam fuper Imperatorem non fit nift folus Temple (the Church) of God, (though Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem, dum fe Doadulterous and apostate Church) shew. ing bimself that be is a God (above all earthly Gods as Kings and Em- which with more reason may be said perors, and the immediate Vicar of of the Pope. the true God). For the Doctrine of

natus super Imperatorem extollit, jam quafi bominum excesserat metas, ut fe, ut Deum, non hominem aftimaret, &c. Oprarus 1. 3.

the Primitive and Ancient Church, how contrary that is to these Principles and Practices, every one may see in the facred Scriptures, and it is almost vulgarly known from the writings of the ancient Christians commonly cited as to obedience to temporal Princes and Magistrates. But be this never so evident, I know it will be hard to perswade one, who hath been trained up in the Popili Principles, to believe it. Not only the prejudice of Education, but more particularly the opinion of the Perseverance and Infallibility of the Church, which above all things from their tender years is deeply rooted in their minds, will be a great obstacle and stumbling block in their way. But let them take heed that a too particular application of a general promife do not deceive them. Tews had as express promises as any they can pretend; and were as zealous as they are now; and yet were deceived with lying words, faying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, as they do now the Church, the holy Catholick Apostolick Roman Church.

12. Here also such Princes, as having escaped these corruptions, will again subject their necks to the Roman yoak, may fee what a fnare they involve themselves in, and what a flavery they must lie under to the Papal Tyranny; how dangerous it is to have their peoples minds infected with these Principles, and their consciences directed by such Guides. And here, if there be any truth in that speech of Cardinal Per-King James's ron: That so long as the Kings of France have kept good the Right of terms of concord with the Popes, they have been the more Kings, fub fire prosperous, and, on the contrary, when they have jarred with the Holy See, they have been infested with boisterous forms and tempests; here, I say, if this be true, they may

perceive the true reason of it, viz. in the one case they were see from the moleculation of the Popes and their Emissaries; and in the other they were insected by them. But how little truth there is in that affertion may partly appear by what hath here been written, and is also proved by our late learned King James in his solid consutation of it, by instances not only in France but other Countries also. And in England who hath been more prosperous and successful than she who wholly cast off the Pope's authority, and would not be courted to so much as to admit his Legate? and who more unhappy than they who have too much complyed with them?

13. Laftly, we must here take notice of that which cannot but administer marter of grief to all true and cordial Christians; and that is the scandal of these Principles and Practices; the occasion which thereby is given to those who are not well acquainted with the Doctrines and Practices of the ancient genuine Christians, nor have well considered the great evidences of the truth and excellence of the Christian Religion, to suspect it to be no other than what they apprehend it to be in the lives and actions of such spurious professors of it, viz. a meer Imposture with great subtilty and artifice managed for secular ends; and the injury which thereby is done to the boly Martyrs, when we shall see Rebels, feditions Traytors and Parricides honoured and magnified as Martyrs, and that not by the vulgar only, but by their Popes themselves and Cardinals; by their learned Writers in printed Books, and Preachers from their Pulpits; hay, when we shall see Relations in printed Books, and representations by printed Cuts and Pictures of most horrible persecutions and martyrdoms pretended to be suffered where in truth was no fuch matter, what a tentation may this give to weak, unlearned or prejudiced minds to suspect that the ancient holy Martyrs either fuffered not at all, or if they did, were only fuch surbulent spirits or poor defuded souls as many of these? Nor hath the holy providence of God escaped their prophane abuse by entitling it to such trifles as a prudent Historian would disdain to mention, and palpable lyes, as may be seen

in Sanders, Ribadeneira, and other fach like Writers. To which if we add the abuse of miracles by lyes and forgeries, we shall find that the gates of Hell, that is, the counsels have prevailed against these degenerate successors of Peter with a witness. Nor could a more effectual means be devised for the subversion of Christianity and all Religion, not the very arms of Mahomet and his fect, than this myflery of iniquity; nor, if it be well confidered, fath the whole World produced any thing which doth better deferve the name of Antichrist. And indeed, if we consider the prefent growth of Atheilm and Infidelity among us, and trace it to its roots and original, we shall find it all to be of an Italian Extraction, and from thence propagated to France, and fo to England and other parts. Nor thall we find any other reasons for it than what are here mentioned; the Italians perceiving better what is acted among themselves, than those who are more remote. For let the Italian subtilty be what it will, I think it is plain, that they have made no deeper fearth into either the legrets of Nature or of Ahtiquity (from one or both of which they must derive their principles, if they have others besides what are here mentioned) than other Nations have made.

make this address to several forts of persons distinctly. And first to all Christians in general, that they will seriously consider, whether they be not obliged for the honour and reputation of our holy Prosession, and whether our great Lord doth not require it of them, to declare against this Romish Faction, and their Unchristian, or rather Antichristian and abominable scandalous principles and practices: that is all National Churches and Universities publickly by solemn Decrees and Protestations, if not by excommunication; and all particular private Christians by abstaining from their communion, and coming out of that Babylon, that they be not partakers of her sine, and recedive not of her plagues.

to eleaned those delutions, that they beware that they be not again entangled therein. For it had been better for them not to

have known the way of righteoniness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy Commandment. 2. That they be careful that they do not hold the truth in unrighteoufnels, (Atrocius fub fancti nominis professione peccatur) but walk worthy of their vocation, &c. worthy of God who hath called them to his Kingdom and Glory, out of darkness into his marvellous light, as children of the light, and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them, and as becometh the Gofpel of Christ: and that while they separate from the scandals of others, they themselves do not administer occasion of scandal to others. 3. That they who are in authority, whether in Church or State, be careful both by their example and authority, as much as in them lieth, to difcourage and suppress all manner of vice and debauchery; and to encourage and promote all manner of virtue, and particularly piety and devotion in Religion. For as vice and debauchery, and even coldness and indifference in matters of Religion in any man, makes him the more obnoxious to the delitions of the Papills; fo they well perceiving to much by experience, are not without reaion believed to endeavour first the debauching of the Nation, that the people being thereby the better prepared and difpofed to receive their impressions, they may the more daily compals their defign; as Phylitians, who cannot immediate ly cure the prefent diftemper of their Patient are fain many times by art to divert it into some other disase which they hope more easily to cure. Nor do the Papists look upon debauchery as a more dangerous disease than that they call herefy. This is such a means as is of natural efficacy to obviate and obstruct the endeavors of the Papists, but of all most likely to be affectual by the bleffing of God upon it; whereas the neglect of it doth both naturally expose the people to their delusions, and is most likely to provoke the judgment of God to give them up to be deluded by them. Nor need Governors to fear that their people will prove less morigerous and governable, by being more devotely affected to Religion: but they well hope the contrary, provided they will require nothing of them that may be thought contrary to Religion; which.

which certainly they need not, Christianity containing nothing inconfiftent with any folid principle of policy. 4. That they be careful to walk worthy of their vocation particularly in that wherein the Apossle doth particularly instance, and which he earnestly urgeth, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace, and \* doing according "Ala Sworte h to the truth in Charity; (Eph. 4. 1, 3, 15.) for it must be remembred that separation and division among Christians is, like homicide, generally unlawful; and though the one as well as the other, in certain special cases, and under certain circumstances, may be not only lawful, but an indispensible duty; which the Romanists cannot with any reason deny, fince it hath been the judgment and frequent, indeed too frequent practice of that Church, both anciently, and of later ages; as is apparent in their excommunications of whole Churches, even all or most of the Eastern Churches, and in the last age many of the Western, for no other cause but the reformation of many scandalous abuses, which the Church or Bishops of Rome by their Agents had transsuled into them, whereby they do unanswerably justify our separation from them (were not themselves the authors of it) for just and necessary causes: yet ought not this to be done but with great caution and mature deliberation, and under fuch conditions as thefe; 1. That it be just and necessary, for just and necessary causes. 2. That it be done with Charity, and with intention and defire to return to communion again as foon as the causes of the separation are removed and reformed. 3. And therefore that it be done with Sobriety, not widening the difference, or quarrelling at such things as may be, or ought to be tolerated, such as being in their own nature indifferent, are left to the prudent ordering and disposition of each particular National or Provincial Church, so as may be Unaquaq; best for order, decency, and edification: that it proceed no Provincia further than for just and necessary causes it ought, lest if we abunder in measure truth, as for example in this case, by its distance suo sensu, &c. from Rome, we not only with many errors and abuses cast Hier. ep. 28. off some truths and useful matter of decency, but also be- v. can ult. come guilty of breach of Charity, while not infiffing only fin.

upon

upon what is just matter of exception, we contend about that which is capable of a charitable confirmation. That these conditions are necessary to be observed to make breach of communion between several Churches justifiable in either. And therefore as those. I think no Christian will deny. Churches which shall contrary to these conditions make a feparation from others, do thereby transgress the Law of Charity, and become guilty of Schifm; To much more do they who shall so separate from their own particular Church to which their habitation and abode doth subject them as special members; and besides to their Schism and breach of Charity add also the guilt of disobedience; and, which ought well to be confidered among us, do thereby, though contrary to their intention, effectually cooperate with the Romifh Agents in the promotion of their grand defign, one of whose principal methods for the subversion of the Reformed, and restauration of the Popish Religion, as might plainly be demonstrated, is the raising and promoting of Sects. Factions and Divisions among us; which were there no other obligation upon us, ought in reason to make us very wary how we do that which gives fo great advantage to the common adversary. 5. That they who are of chief authority in the Church be very cautious not to administer unnecessar ry occasion of separation to the weakness of their brethren; which may be, and frequently is done by these two means especially; 1. By rigorous pressing of things in their own nature indifferent. For though these things be left to the prudent ordering of each particular National or Provincial Church; yet when through the weakness and scrupulosity of many they become matter of offence and scandal to them, and so occasions of separation, in that circumstance they cease to be indifferent, and it would be no less contrary to Prudence than to Charity to impose or longer strictly to require them, and is plainly contrary to both the Doctrine and the Practice of the Apostle, (v. Rom. 14, & 15. & 1 Cor. 8. & 9.20,21,22. & 10.22 .-- and 2 Kin. 18. 4.) especially in so dangerous a circumstance as this, when it gives so great advantage to such an adversary, who so studiously and industriously endeavors

our divisions, it can never be approved as any way confishent with prudence, and that care of the flock which all faithful Pattors ought to have, not to allow at least such indulgence and liberty in such things as is necessary to the prefervation of unity in the Church. 2. By [candalous coldness in Religion and worldliness in the Clergy. It is certain both from reason and experience, though perhaps not commonly observed, that there is scarce any so universal and powerful a caule of separation and factions as this. For the generality of people do rarely judge by any other rule than that of our Saviour, by their fruits, and are therefore very apt to judge of the truth of mens Doctrine by the virtue and piety of their lives and actions. And there is a certain authority of reputation which ought always to accompany authority of Jurildiction; and is in truth the more powerful of the two to retain people in a sweet, voluntary, and so more persect obedience; and this being loft, the other which alone holds them only in a kind of violent and forced, not natural and genuine, obedience, is very difficult to be managed, very hazardous to be cast off, and is seldom of long duration. Now the former, which is the proper authority of the Church and Clergy (for what is coercive more than bare excommunication, is in truth a branch of the Civil Authority) can neverbe retained by only abstaining from those we call scandalous fins, but by the constant, sincere and vigorous practice of those great virtues of Religion, Humility, Meekness, Heavenly-mindedness, contempt of the World, devotion in Religion, and zealous endeavors for the Salvation of Souls; without which the observance of the rules only of ordinary moral virtues will be attributed rather to humane Prudence than to Religion. But to fee men zealous for the accidents and formalities of Religion, and cold in the practice and promotion of the great effential and substantial parts, and the very bufinels of it: to hear men cry up morality as if there was nothing more in Religion than that, and yet in the practice even of that to come far short of the very Heathen Moralists: to fee men prophanely turn the facred Profession into a kind of trade; to design it, and apply themselves to it no otherwise than

than others do to civil or fecular employments, as a means to get a livelihood, to get wealth, honour and preferment in the World, and when they have, and perhaps by indirect means, heaped Living upon Living, and Preferment upon Preferment, accordingly use or rather abuse the charity of our Anceftors, and the revenues of the Church in fuch indulgence to Pride, Oftentation, voluptuous or delicious living, as would be scarce excusable in the religious Laity; nay to vie with them in such vanities, or insatiably to heap up treafures, not for the necessary relief of their own Families, but to raise great Pamilies in the World, even of their more remote relations (that which the time hath been hath been held no less than sacriledge) without any regard to such works of Charity, and the promotion of Christianity as all good Christians, according to their ability, are obliged to. These things, to which might be added the general decay and neglect of the ancient discipline, do more effectually weaken the proper authority of the Church and Clergy, than any Ecclefiaffical Canons or Civil Laws can establish it; and being naucious in the fight of the people, provoke the more religious to run to private meetings and fects, and the rest to jealousie and suspitions of all Religion, to Infidelity, Irreligion and Prophaneness; and so in both give great advantage to the Romanists, and help forward the promotion of their labours and defigns. The truth whereof is confirmed by the happy success of those who take a contrary course. For thanks be to God we are not without some, who by their good employment not only of the revenues of their Ecclefiastical preferments, but also of their private fortunes, their virtuous and pious lives, and their fervent, found and profitable Preaching, prevail with many of the several forts of Non-Conformists to become their auditors, and reclaim them. And were there some good and effectual course taken that we might have more such lights set up in the more conspicuous Candlefticks of the Church, we should find that the most effectual means both to dispel the mists of Separatists, and keep out the Romish Foggs from overwhelming us, and to promote and establish the honour and authority of the Church and

and Clergy. Nor would the bleffing of God be wanting to the pious use of such means. 6. That they, the Clergy especially, will take example by their adversaries, and not be less studious and industrious by just and proper means to promote and propagate the true Religion in its genuine purity and simplicity, than they their errors, abuses and corruptions of it by indirect and evil means. They compass Sea and Land to make Proselytes, &c. and to that end have heretofore readily encountred all difficulties and dangers, though now they cannot much complain of either, and space no pains nor cost. We, of this Nation particularly, have long fince had a large harvest proposed to us, and nothing wanting to encourage us to the work but our own good will and zeal for our Masters service; nay, like soathful servants have been whipped to our work, and both Conformists and Non Conformists have had their turns. It were well if at last we would be sensible of this duty, before a third party come and drive both to that which neither of themselves would willingly undertake. Can we believe a Divine Providence, and yet think the discovery of that other World was a casual thing? or can we acknowledge a Divine Providence in that, and yet believe there was no other defigh in it than to employ our Sea men, or furnish us with Tobacco? we have reason to believe that this neglect hath not been diffembled hitherto, nor will escape unpunished for the future, unless timely amended. they will not be less vigilant and active for the preservation of their Religion, and with it of their lives, liberties and fortunes, and all that is dear unto them, than these sons of Perdition are to confound and destroy them; and to that end make diligent fearch and enquiry into their prefent mysterious practices; for the discovery whereof much light-may be taken from the due consideration of their former practices, and of their principles. Their end in general is pretty well known; and what latitude they are like to take to themselves in the choice of means for attaining that end, may not only be conje-Aured by their former practices, but demonstrated unanswerably from their certain principles. From which confiderations, though a man that is willing might cafily latisfie himhimfelf what they are now doing, yet because some who are concerned to be convinced of it, will not perhaps be so satisfied, and because to the more effectual prevention of so great a mischief a more particular discovery of the matter of fact. and of the instruments and circumstances of it may be neceffary, all who have any love to their Country, or regard to the interest and safety of themselves or their relations, though the consideration of Religion should not move them, are concerned to use their utmost endeavour in it. But if nejther the confideration of the horrid confusions and massacres heretofore raised in France by these Furies; nor of their continual Treasons and Conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth and her Kingdoms, which they then would have betrayed to the invafions of the King of Spain, as now probably they would to the King of France, that is, those who fleer their motions, though their common agents may be generally ignorant of the delign; nor of that horrible Gunpowder Conspiracy against King James, the Royal Issue, and flower of the English Nobility and Gentry; nor lastly of our late Civil Wars, which may in time be justly proved and demonstrated to have been the product of the Romish machinations, to which might be added their restless endeavors for the subversion of our Government, and for the breaking of the great Metropolis of this Nation, as the two main obstacles in their way; if all this, and besides all the safety of his Majesties person, which perhaps may be further concerned in it than is commonly apprehended, be not sufficient to awaken us of these Nations to a speedy vigilance and activity before it be too late, to discover and detect their machinations, and couragiously oppose their proceedings; especially those who are in authority within their several jurisdictions to look narrowly, if not into their matters of Religion, yet at least into their provisions of Arms and Ammunition, into their correspondencies and secret negotiations and engagements, and especially to discover those who under several disguises not only infinuate themselves into familiatity with persons of Quality, and creep into their Families under the notions of Physitians, Painters, and other employments, but also get into publick offices and employments, and perhaps to be chosen into the Parliment it self, it may be seared we shall ere long smart for our stupidity and supine negligence.

3. To those who still continue of the Roman Communion. and are in danger to be drawn in to engage in fuch undertakings for the promotion of their Religion by fraud and force, by disturbance or subversion of Governments, raising or fomenting wars between Christian Princes and States, and fuch like means, that they will well confider the justice and piery thereof. For most certain it is, and agreed on all hands that they are contrary to the means used by our Saviour, and his Apostles, and Disciples, and their Successors for the original propagation of the Gospel. Nor ought it to be replyed, as some have impiously faid that that was for want of force, for he who could command legions of Angels is not to be thought to have wanted force if he had pleased to make use of it; nor had the Christians, for many ages before these Unchristian Doctrines were ever thought of, less power in the World than they have had fince, or less occasion to have made use of it, had they thought it lawful; and besides, it is no less contrary to their Doctrine than to their Practice. 2. The use of fuch means is most injurious and scandalous to the most holy, pure and innocent Religion, which hath been always most propagated and glorified by the magnanimous, sedate and constant sufferings of its genuine Professors, but always most dishonoured by the furious, violent and persidious pra-Ctices of the spurious Zealots of the abuses of it. 2. It is contrary to the very nature of the true Religion, and the express Doctrine of the sacred Scriptures. 4. It is condemned by the judgment of God, disappointing, blasting and confounding all attempts of that nature in these Kingdoms for near an hundred years together. Nor will their zeal and good intentions excuse them; Paul had as much of both when he persecuted the Christians as they can have; and of the Tews he testifies to the Romans that they had the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; and our Savious foretold that they who should kill his Disciples would think they do God good service in it. Nor will their following of the Aa2 probaV. King James Def. of the Right of Kings.

probable opinions of their Confessors excuse them; for when blind guides lead the blind, both fall into the ditch, as our Saviour saith. Nor will it be much comfort to them who dye in their fins through the Priests default, that the Priest also shall answer for it, as the Prophet faith, But that which is the secret root and main prop of their delusion, and most effectually deceives them, is an unhappy mistaken opinion deeply rooted in their minds of the infallible authority of the particular Church of Rome. For, as Cardinal Perron hath well argued, if these things be unlawful which have for so many ages been acted by the Papal authority (& that interpoled with all the formality and folemnity that could be) it would follow that the Pope hath been Antichrift, and the Church of Rome the Synagogue of Satan for so many ages past. This is it, whatever other specious arguments and pretentes are alledged, which makes them no less obstinate in their errors than the lews are in theirs. A deceived heart hath turned them afide, and they cannot deliver their foul, But if they will but, 1. Lay aside the prejudice of Education; 2. Consider the great evidence there is that these things are contrary to Christianity; 3. And with that compare the little real ground there is to believe this pretended infallible authority, it may by God's bleffing be a good means to undeceive them: but then as to the third particular they must deal candidly and impartially, fetting aside, 1. Such proofs as concern only the perfeverance of the Church of Christ in general, 2. Such as concern only the authority of particular Churches over their own members; for neither of these make any thing for the Church of Rome more than for any other particular Church; & then what else they can alledge will be found to be far short of what the Jews might alledge to prove that they are fill the true Isrzel of God. But the confounding of these things is that which imposeth upon their minds and judgments. ancient Apostolick Creed, and what ever other rule of Faith is mentioned by Ireneus, Tertullian, or any of the Ancients, and were held to contain the sum of the Christian Faith, are to this day generally received and believed by all the Christian World; so that Christ hath still a Church upon Earth

Earth what-ever become of the Church of Rome: the like may be faid of the facred Scriptures; but in none of thefe is the least mention of any such infallible authority of the Church of Rome; no, nor of any such authority of the Church of Christ as the Church of Rome does pretend to. Nor is there any colour or pretence of proof that that authority was ever in any one age to this day the general belief of the Christian World; no, nor so much as of the Church of Rome it felf for 700 years, I may truly fay for 1 100 years and more. 2. That they will likewise well consider the prudence of such undertakings, the Nobility and Gentry especially of these Nations, who embrace the Roman Religion. They have had almost an hundred years experience of the ill succels and unhappy confequence of fuch attempts to themfelves and their party, whereby they have only made a rod for their own backs, provoking and exasperating the severity of Laws against themselves; and when the Romish Agents had lately dissolved the Government, and brought all things into confusion, as is not a little apparent they did, when they had crept into the Court, and infinuated themselves into the several Factions of the Kingdom, by underhand dealings incenfing them one against another, what did they advance their cause by it, but only involved themselves in the same publick calamity wherein they embroyled the Nation? The Emissaries are men who have neither Estates nor Fortunes to lofe or hazard, nor wives and children to fuffer with them; and if their attempts prove unsuccessful, can easily retire to their Colledges again beyond Sea. And their motions and actions are steered by foreigners, who fit far enough out of all danger, and in great fecurity expect to make their profit and advantage of us all. So that both these have hopes of advantage without any, or any great hazard, only the more honest and well meaning Nobility and Gentry do certainly run a very great hazard without any probability, if things be rightly calculated, of much mending their condition at the best. For did they now suffer something in their Estates according to the Laws (which certainly would hever much be pressed, did they not continually incense the Kingdom

dom against them by restless attempts, through the instigations of the Emissaries, endangering the peace and quiet of it); yet is that in some measure recompensed by their freedom from the trouble and charge of divers publick employments; and the" rest would be dearly bought off by enslaving the Kingdom again to the Roman Usurpations; and that with fo much hazard both to themselves, as in respect of conscience and the justice of the undertaking (for there is but little of true Christianity in him who will not readily fuffer a greater loss, rather than venture upon an unlawful or but doubtful action): fo also of the prudence of it; (for the higher they go in their attempts, there is no doubt but it will fall more heavy upon them, after fo many and great provocations, if they miscarry therein, and of that the danger is greater than can eafily be forefeen); and to the Kingdom in general, the peace and prosperity whereof they ought to defire and endeavour upon the account both of natural duty and of interest. For whatever some, who do not well consider it, may promise themselves, those who have Estates and Fortunes here, be their Religion what it will, are like to have their shares of whatever publick calamity or mischief is brought upon the Nation; which they who at Rome and from other foreign parts do fleer the motions of the Emissaries and other slicklers here in that cause, are not much concerned to consider. \* \* \*

4. And laftly, to those who either through weakness and inconfiderateness are foundalized at these and such like wicked practices of the Romanists or any others profesting Christianity; or through wilfulness and wickedness do make use thereof to confirm or encourage themselves in their affected insidelity, who having first finned themselves into despair of any good by the observance of Religion, at last seek to encourage themselves against all fear of evil by the neglect of it. This last fort I intended not among Christians in general, and yet do here joyn them with the other fort here mentioned, because what is to be said to those may be faid also to these. The scandal and ill use that is made of these practices is either more particular from abuse of pretended miracles and martyrdoms, whereby some may be induced to doubt of the ancient Christian Miracles and Martyrs; (and for satisfaction in this particular, I shall here for brevity sake refer them

them to the writings already written and extant in print, some in the English Tongue, of the verity of the Christian Religion) or from fuch practices in general, of men in great place in Church or State, or repute for Learning, as are thought inconfishent with a real belief of what they possess, whence some who affect to know more than the vulgar will needs perswade themselves and others that all fuch are Atheifts and Infidels, and thereupon bring all Religion under a suspition of being nothing else but a more refined piece of policy; and because I have found by experience that many have no better arguments for their affected infidelity than this, and yet few of those who have written of the verity of the Christian Religion have taken any notice of it, or thought it worth a particular answer, I shall recommend these things to their confideration: 1. That this is no argument or evidence against Religion, but only a bare supposed opinion and judgment of such persons without any evident and express ground or reafon for it. 2. That the opinion or judgment of great Statesmen or Scholars, meerly as fuch, is of no greater authority in this. particular than the judgment or opinion of other men; for fuch men may in general well deserve that reputation which they have, and yet be utterly ignorant of those Principles which are necessary to be known to ground a judgment in this case. There are very rarely found any men that are well skilled in all the parts of Learning, or of some one profession; as for example of the Law, some are good Conveyancers, who are very unskilful in Bar-Practice; many good Chancery-men who are no great Common Lawyers, & c. So in Divinity, some are well skilled in. Textual, some in Polemical, or Scholastical, some in Casuistical. Divinity, and yet but meanly skilled in the other parts of it; and this part which confiders the evidences of Religion, is but rarely fludied by any but fuch as have to do with Infidels, each man ordinarily applying himfelf especially to that part to which his peculiar employment engageth him, and usually men in great place have of all others least leisure for this particular study. 3. But were their judgment never so considerable, yet could it not in this case be certainly concluded from their actions. For, I. It isagreed by all forts of men, Christians and Heathens, and daily experience confirmeth the same, that men frequently act contrary

to their feeled judgment; and who may not often truly fay, Video

meliora probog; deteriora sequor? Nor is the thing it self more apparent than the reasons of ir. But I shall not here trace it to its first and original causes, but only shew it in its next and immediate causes, which are Surprize, Impotence, and Presumption. From Surprize there is certainly no man whose care and caution can always fecure him, that he may not fometimes through the heat of passion or suddenness of a tentation be \* overtaken. This we may all observe in our selves, and in most we familiarly converse with. Nay, our very caution it self in many things makes us apt to be furprized by fear, and thereupon to do those things we otherwise would not, or neglect what we would otherwise do. And though there be not a like Impotence in all, yet is there more or less in every one, whence men often do themselves contrary to what they would advise their children or dearest friends. We daily fee those who doubt not the directions of their Physitians to be good and necessary to be observed. vet frequently overcome to transgress them to the hazard of their health and life it felf; nay Phylitians themselves do the farme. whereof I could give a late notable instance in one of the most famous of his time. Nor are we to think great Statesmen, Poligitians and learned men more exempt from all imporence than others are. It is sufficient that they be well qualified for the places they hold, to which their very impotence in some respects may fometime be a special qualification; and they who are not eafily overcome by one passion or affection, may yet be perfectly enflaved to another. What is wanting to these two causes is frequently made up by Presumption, whether upon God's mercy in general, and hope of pardon upon an intended repentance afterward, or upon the priviledg of being within the pale of the Church by profession of Christianity, or being members of the Catholick Church, or zealous for the party they espouse, that is as the Prophet faith, Trusting in lying words, Saying, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord, a Prefumption to powerful heretofore, that notwithstanding that reproof, and after a notable experience of the vanity of it, we find it in our Saviour's days still continued, and again reproved by John Baptist; Think not to say within your selves we have

Abraham

\* Gal. 6. 1.

Jer. 7. 3.

Abraham to our Father, &c. Mat. 2. 9. And yet after all this, as experience sheweth, still prevalent in our days, and very common among the Romanists and the Disciples of the Jefuites, especially their new Proselytes, who seem to hope tor indulgence in their finful courses, or to expiate the fame, bytheir zeal for the Church; whereunto great occasion is given by their abominable abuse of Absolution, Commutation of Penance, Indulgences and complying Conduct. 2. These actions may proceed from error in the understanding, and ignorance or mistake about some particular Christian Doctrine, through an erronious Conscience thinking that to be lawful, or a Christian duty, which is absolutely unlawful; and this So our Savimay be confistent with a firm belief of the Christian Doctrine out telleth his in general. And this I take to be in truth the case of the they who Romanists, and that they are given up to believe a lye through should kill strong delusions, wherein they do not more deceive their them would disciples than they are themselves deceived; for do but admit think they do me one or two of their Principles, and there is nothing fo Jo. 16. 2. and monstrous in their actions but I think I can easily prove it Saul thought lawful. I had therefore intended to have shewed from what that he ought Principles those actions have proceeded; that those Prin- to persecute ciples are mistaken, and are no Christian but rather Anti- the Christians, christian Doctrines; what hath been the cause, occasion and progress of that mistake; and lastly, that this desection from the Christian Doctrine and Manners hath been foretold by the first Propagators of the Christian Faith, in that manner as I think would not only do much to the removing of the scandal, but moreover afford no inconsiderable evidence to the truth of Christianity it self: but that I see would be too long for this place and time; but I am well affured of the truth of what I say, and doubt not but ere long it will be made manifest. 3. There is one cause more from whence men may act contrary to Christianity, and that in the highest degree, and yet without the disbelief of the Truth of it in general, or of any particular Doctrine of it: and that is through desperation, the case of some who believe and tremble, Ja.2.19. When men by frequency and long continuance in fin against the light and checks of conscience have finned them-

themselves into this desperation, this is often an occasion to them to a further progress in wickedness, even to the height of the most enormous fins, though they neither do, nor can doubt of the truth of the Christian Religion, no more than do the Devils who believe and tremble; for there is no fin which is not confiftent with a full persualion of it in such as are once become desperate indeed. Even scoffing at and abuse of Religion to evil ends are no certain arguments of unbelief in such as use them. There may be and are falle Professor Arheism and Infidelity as well as of Religion it felf. There is more or less of humane freitry in all. Too many fin against knowledg, and some thereby sim themselves into despair, and then run on into all wickedness against that Belief which they would fain cast offif they could. And there are fo many causes and occasions of fins besides unbelief, that they cannot in reason be attributed to it alone. 4. And laftly, confidering the strange wild fancies, which we often fee men, learned men, and otherwife tober men, fall into: confidering the great force & prevalence that the will & affe-Ctions have to byafs, blind, and corrupt the judgment; confidering the power, and malice, and fubtilty that, according to the Scriptures, the God of this World hath to blind mens minds that they should not believe the Gospel of Truth, it is not to be doubted but fuch there are who do not believe it; but then the very fame reasons may fatisfy us what little credit there is to be given to the opinions of fuch men, without better reason: and yet I know and have found by experience that some professors of Infidelity have no better reafons than this; they are like men in a panick fear, where every one is afraid, but none knoweth the cause, only he ssuppoleth the rest do, and is somuch the more afraid by how much the more in number they are whom he supposeth to be in the fame passion with himself: so, many who have no reafon at all for their unbelief, yet suppose others have and would fain be thought as wife as they.

This I thought necessary to add as an Antidote against that poison which some might suck from those scandalous

Practices and Actions which have been here related.

